

CONTRIBUTION OF JAINISM TO INDIAN CULTURE



Dr. R. C. DWIVEDI

The Jaina Literature, both sacred and secular, is indeed vast and varied. Like the Vedic Hindus and the Buddhists, the Jainas have contributed to the different branches of knowledge—Grammar, Poetics, Kośas, Metrics, Stories, Religion and so on. The Jaina monks devoted their whole life to learning, reading and writing and considerably enriched literature. Language and literature, religion, philosophy and ethics, fine arts and sciences, history and culture of India have inherited the rich culture of Jainism through long course of its development.

The present publication comprises some outstanding papers contributed to a Seminar on Jainism held at the University of Udaipur in 1973. This is a result of Co-operative academic venture by scholars of eminence including Professors A. N. Upadhye, H. C. Bhayani, K. Krishnamoorthy, T. G. Mainkar, P. L. Bhargava, Dalsukh Malvania, M.L. Mehta, K.D. Bajpai, G. C. Choudhary, T. G. Kalghatgi, G. N. Sharma and Upendra Thakur. It is a fine contribution to Jainism which is presented here in all its bearings, comparatively, critically and analytically. In the opinion of Dr. A. N. Upadhye the Director of the Seminar, "no study in Jainism and Indian culture can be complete without a reference to this work."

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TO INDIAN CULTURE**

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Edited by
Dr. R. C. DWIVEDI
Professor of Sanskrit
University of Udaipur

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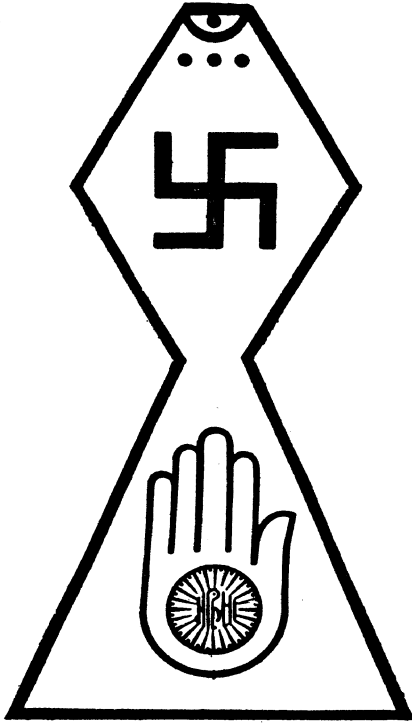
Dr. Nemichandra Shastri

and

Dr. G. C. Choudhary

**Who contributed to the success of the
Seminar, but are alas ! no more with us.**

मोक्षमार्गस्य नेतारं भेत्तारं कर्मभूभृताम् ।
ज्ञातारं विश्वतत्त्वानां वन्दे तद्गुणलब्धये ॥



णमो अरहंताणं
णमो सिद्धाणं
णमो आयरियाणं
णमो उवज्झायाणं
णमो लोए सव्वसाहूणं

परस्परोपग्रहो जीवानाम्

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PRE FACE

A Seminar on "Contribution of Jainism to Indian Culture with special reference to the Doctrine of Non-Violence" was held from 2nd to 6th October, 1973 under the auspices of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Udaipur. About sixty papers were contributed to the Seminar which was attended by a large number of scholars of Jainism and allied disciplines from different parts of the country. This was the second Seminar organised by the Department of Sanskrit; the first one was held in December, 1968, on the "Principles of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit". The present publication comprises some of the papers contributed to the Seminar on Jainism. I am extremely grateful to Lala Shri Sunder Lal Jain whose encouragement is my best inspiration for work. Prof. Jagdish Lal Shastri never fails to appreciate what I do, this accounts for accepting these seminar papers for publication which has been speeded up by Shri Jainendra Prakash Jain, Dr. A. Bhattacharya and Shri N. K. Jain. Seminar papers in Hindi are being published by the Adarsh Sahitya Sangh, Churu, Rajasthan.

The Seminar was inaugurated on the morning of 2nd October, 1973, the date rendered auspicious by the birth of Mahatma Gandhi, the apostle of peace and non-violence. Dr. A. N. Upadhye, the doyen of Jainological Studies in India, very kindly accepted its General Presidentship. He was ably and competently assisted by the Chairmen : Dr. M. L. Mehta, Dr. T. G. Kalghatgi, Professor Satyavrat, Professor H. C. Bhayani, Pt. Dalsukh Malvania, Professor G. N. Sharma, Dr. G. C. Choudhary and the Secretaries : Professor M. G. Dhadphate, Dr. V. P. Jain, Dr. N. H. Samtani, Dr. K. C. Jain and Dr. V. D. Johrapurkar for different sessions of the Seminar. Besides the General President of the Seminar, Dr. K. D. Bajpai also delivered special lecture on "Jain Art and Architecture" which was illustrated with representative slides by Dr. G. C. Jain. As Director of the Seminar, I owe a deep debt of gratitude to these scholars in particular, and to all others who made the Seminar a great success by their enlightened guidance and participation and now by their permission for publication.

Colleagues of my Department don't need a special and recorded mention of my gratitude which is writ large in the sanctum of my heart. Many friends from other Departments, notably Dr. K. C. Sogani, Associate Professor in the Department

of Philosophy and Shri O. D. Upadhyaya, Assistant Professor in the Department of Drawing and Painting, helped me in the organisation of the Seminar. Digamber Jain Agrawal Samaj, Jain Mumukshu Mandal, Shvetambara Terapanth Samaj, Vardhamana Sthanakvasi Samaj, Shvetambara Murti Pujak Samaj, Bharat Jain Mahamandal, and Mahavir Nirvan Mahotsava Samiti of Udaipur town and Himmat Singh Saruparia gave receptions in honour of the participating scholars. Active participation by the local Jain community was a special feature of this Seminar. Town and gown met profitably. Thus the ideal of the University to meet the social needs and aspirations was realised.

It was on the initial recommendation of the then Vice-Chancellor of Udaipur University, Dr. G. S. Mahajani, now the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Poona that the University Grants Commission, New Delhi, accepted my proposal to sponsor this Seminar. I am most sincerely thankful to him and to the authorities of the Commission. I must mention here without fail the names of my esteemed friends: Dr. D. K. Mishra, Director of Extension and Shri A. C. Sharma, Comptroller, University of Udaipur, who are always unfailing in their help in any good work that I do. This Seminar is the best thing that could be done by any University because here it was for the first time that Jainism was discussed in all its bearings, comparatively, analytically and critically. I really regret that lively and enlightened discussion that followed the presentation of papers is not included here as was done earlier in the publication of the Seminar on "Principles of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit." This is mainly due to the imperfect and incomplete recording of the discussion on the papers which deal with a wide variety of subjects related to language and literature, religion, philosophy and ethics, fine arts and sciences and finally to the history and culture of Jainism. Indexes of authors, works and terms, prepared by my pupil-colleague Dr. V. P. Bhatt, will be found useful by the readers and researchers.

Dissent co-existed in the intellectual and religious democracy of India from the times of the Vedas. In the royal family of Kṣatriyas, a great hero, Mahāvīra, was born in the old Republic of Vaiśālī. He was born more than 2,500 years ago, probably 20 years before the birth of another great leader of India, the Buddha. He proclaimed: Enemies are within and not without, real conquest is the conquest of petty self, all absolutism is false, relativity is the truth, violence and lust will solve no problem. *Ahiṃsā* and *Aparigraha* are the real answer to the problems of man and his

world, war against internal impurities must be won with the weapon of renunciation and asceticism; with this was born a new faith, a new religion that has given a new sense and direction to our struggle. The world has won many a battle through violence and conquest of nature but is now losing the war. We face extinction through thermo-nuclear weapons due to personal and organised violence. Recapitulation of Lord Mahāvīra's message can still save us from final death, from universal suicide.

Lord Mahāvīra attained Nirvāṇa on the dark night of Amāvāsyā in the month of *Kārttika* (corresponding to 13 November this year). The nation will be celebrating the Nirvāṇa for the full one year ending on 14 November 1975, when the next *Kārttika Amāvāsyā* falls. Empirical night of darkness marks the final day of his awakening. Language and literature, religion and philosophy, fine arts and sciences, history and culture of India have benefited from the contribution that Jainism has made through its long course of development. Buddhism has disappeared from the land of its birth. Jainism is firmly rooted in the soil of India.

Universities in India can no longer ignore the study of its rich cultural heritage. If gown does not know the town, all education will be irrelevant. Rajasthan has a large number of Jainas, living followers of old faith now organized into different sects. A rich treasure of manuscripts and a variety of monuments exist. But no attempt was made to introduce the study of the Jain language, literature and culture in Rajasthan. The Department of Sanskrit, University of Udaipur, pioneered the introduction of Prakrit as a special study at M. A. in Sanskrit, and at Certificate level for the beginners from the year 1971.

2,500 years of Lord Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa are being celebrated in all the parts of the country this year. There is hardly any organisation or individual who is not contributing his best in spreading his message throughout the length and breadth of this country and in other corners of the world. This Seminar was contemplated well in advance so that the papers may be published during the year of Nirvāṇa. This may be considered our most humble offering (a Sāmāyika) to the Lord Mahāvīra.

Karttika Amavasya
13 November, 1974

R. C. Dwivedi

EXCERPTA

परस्परपमोहो जीवानाम्....।

(Tattvārthasūtra, 5-21)

Mutual helpfulness is the function of souls.

धम्मो मंगलमुक्किट्ठं अहिंसा संजमो तवो ।

(Dasavaikāliya, I-i.)

Non-violence, self-control and austerity are *dhamma*, auspicious and excellent.

जीवादीसद्दहणं सम्मत्तं तेसिमधिगमो णाणं ।

रागादीपरिहरणं चरणं एसो दु मोक्खपहो ॥

(Samayasāra, 155)

Belief in the self and other reals is rightness, their comprehension is knowledge, uprooting attachment etc. is conduct. These together constitute the way to freedom.

जीवाजीवास्रवबन्धसंवरनिर्जरामोक्षास्तत्त्वम् ।

(Tattvārthasūtra, I. 4)

Self, not-self, inflow, bondage, cessation, elimination and freedom constitute the real.

अनन्तधर्मात्मकमेव तत्त्वम् ।

(Syādvādamāñjarī, 22)

The real is verily composed of infinite attributes.

जग्हाण णएण विणा होइ णरस्स स्मियवायपडिवत्ती ।

तग्हा सो बोहव्वो एयंतं हंतुकामेण ॥

(Samañasuttam, 691)

Since no man can comprehend the doctrine of *syāt* without *naya* (standpoint) this must, therefore, be grasped in order to avoid one-sidedness.

सव्वे पाणा सव्वे भूया सव्वे जीवा सव्वे सत्ता न हन्तव्वा ।

न अज्जावेयव्वा न परियावेयव्वा न परिघेतव्वा न उद्देवेयव्वा ॥

(Ācārāṅga, I. 4. 2-5)

No living being, no animate object, no sentient being, no life should be slain, or treated with violence, or tormented or abused or driven away.

परिग्रह निविद्वानं वेरं तेसि पवद्धई....

(Sūtrakṛtāṅga, I-9-3)

The iniquity of those who cling to worldly objects goes on increasing.

असंविभागी न हु तस्स मोक्खो ।

(Daśavaikālika ix. 2. 22)

He who does not make a just distribution, gets no freedom.

जिणभवणइं कारावियइं लब्भइ सग्गि विभाणु ।

अह टिक्कइं आराहणहं होइ समाहिहि ठाणु ॥

(Sāvayadhammadohā, 193)

He who constructs *jina* temples attains position in heaven and he who comments on the scriptures becomes seated in Samādhi.

एहु सत्थु जो लिहइ लिहावइ पढइ पढावइ कहइ कहावइ ।

जो णरु णारि एहु मणि भावइ पुणहअधिउ पुण्णफलु पावइ ॥

(Vadḍhamanākaha of Narasena)

Whoever, a man or woman, writes and makes others write, reads or makes other read, narrates or makes others narrate such works and meditates upon these, obtains plentiful fruits of merits.

SOME ASPECTS OF JAIN CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN CULTURE

(Inaugural Address)

Dr. P. S. Lamba

On behalf of the University of Udaipur and on my own behalf I feel great pleasure in extending a cordial welcome to the delegates coming from different parts of the country to participate in this seminar on 'Contribution of Jainism to Indian Culture' and to all those who are present here to attend this function. In a way, it is the responsibility of University Departments to organise such seminars in order to promote academic outlook in the community. I feel proud of saying that the Department of Sanskrit of our University has been actively organising such seminars in this University. This is the second seminar organised by the Department of Sanskrit, the first being the seminar on 'Principles of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit' held in 1968, which was acclaimed a great success by the scholars. The present seminar has a special significance. As you all know, the 2500th Nirvāṇa of Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvira, one of the great apostles of peace in the world, will be celebrated both at the National and International level on the 13th November, 1974. I need not tell you that in the history of the world Lord Mahavira is the first single glaring example who propagated and practised the principles of peaceful co-existence, which are today abundantly needed by contemporary human society. Consequently this seminar, which is being organised to commemorate the 2,500th Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira, will be fruitful in bringing out the great contribution which Jainism has made to enrich Indian Culture in its diverse facets. I have full appreciation for the organisers of this seminar and I congratulate them for this academic pursuit. I feel that the justification for this seminar being organised by the Department of Sanskrit seems to me to be two-fold. First the Department of Sanskrit of this University is pioneer among the Universities of Rajasthan in introducing Prakrit as a subject of study at the post-graduate level. Secondly, Sanskrit has served as a great connecting link between Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism. It is through this language that the leaders of these three religions could converse with each other on various issues of religious and philosophical importance. Thus Sanskrit, in a way, has supplied us the common platform for these three religions of India, which together substantially constitute the cultural heritage of our country.

In the light of modern researches, there is a consensus that Jainism is one of the oldest living religions of the world. The Mohanjo Daro culture, the Vedic literature and the Pre-Mahavira period exhibit remarkable traces of the existence of Jainism in this country.

The basic tenets of Jainism can be epitomised in two words, namely, *Ahiṃsā* and *Anekānta*, the two principles of peaceful co-existence, philosophically and socially. There is no denying the fact that if we accept *Ahiṃsā* as the regulative principle of our conduct and *Anekānta* as the beacon light of our outlook, barbarism and exploitation, obstinacy and cold war in their subtle and gross forms can come to an end. It is no exaggeration to say that *Ahiṃsā* and *Anekānta* are the greatest contributions of Jainism to world thought in general and Indian thought in particular. I am sure I shall not be overestimating if I say that no other religion in the world has worked out the principle of *Ahiṃsā* in its minutest details and no other philosophy has brought out the profoundest ramifications of *Anekānta* as Jainism. Thus if *Ahiṃsā* is the flower of Jainism, *Anekānta* will be its crown. One can not flourish without the other. Whatever different shades of meaning these two terms may have, but to me *Ahiṃsā* is the principle of respect for life and *Anekānta* is the doctrine of open-mindedness.

The principle of *Ahiṃsā* recognises that every individual irrespective of caste, colour and creed is an end and has a dignity of its own; consequently one should treat all human beings accordingly. No man should be deprived of availing himself of the opportunities of advancement. The movement of life to the plane of *Ahiṃsā* signifies that the idea of domination over others and of being dominated by others is to be relinquished in the domain of politics and economics; and the principles of freedom of progress and equality of opportunity be recognised for all people, whether in Europe or America, Asia or Africa. The deeper significance of *Ahiṃsā* consists in the elimination of war, which has harassed mankind since the dawn of civilisation. The easing of tensions and cessation of conflicts among states, the maintenance of universal peace and the promotion of human welfare can only be effected by suffusing world's atmosphere with the spirit of *Ahiṃsā*. Thus the principle of *Ahiṃsā* implies "life should be elevated altogether from the plane of force to that of reason, persuasion, accomodation, tolerance and mutual service." The virtues of truth, non-stealing, continence, and non-acquisitiveness are just the extensions of *Ahiṃsā* to different modes of human existence. With the

practice of these five virtues an atmosphere of security, freedom, equality and proper distribution can be created in human society.

Anekānta, as stated earlier, is the doctrine of open-mindedness. It is based on the conviction that a thing is constituted of diverse aspects and its proper understanding requires the consideration of as many aspects as possible. The comprehension of a thing from different points of view develops in us a catholic outlook necessary for peaceful co-existence. By virtue of this doctrine of Anekānta Jainism has been able to appreciate the view-points of others in the field of philosophy. What is decried by it is the one-sided obstinate approach to a thing which is at the root of all dissensions. Open-mindedness, I need not tell you, fosters magnanimity and balance of mind. Thus Anekāntavāda along with its corollaries of Nayavāda and Syādvāda supplies us the necessary basis for easing national and international tensions and for developing the attitude of intellectual honesty in an individual.

A dispassionate study of the history of Indian literature reveals that the contributions of Jaina scholars to the development of literature is enormous. The fact that Lord Mahāvīra preached in the language of the masses seems to serve as a powerful inspiration to his followers to adopt such languages for disseminating knowledge and producing works of literary significance. It is on account of this fact that Jainas have been able to enrich the literature of different languages like Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa, Hindi, Rajasthani, Tamil, Kannada, Gujarati and others. Besides writing in different languages they have composed works on varied subjects. The great German scholar Bühler writes, "In grammar, in astronomy as well as in all branches of belles lettres the achievements of Jainas have been so great that even their opponents have taken notice of them and that some of their works are of importance for European science even to-day. In the South where they have worked among the Dravidian peoples, they have also promoted the development of these languages. The Kanarese, Tamil, Telugu literary languages rest on the foundations erected by the Jaina Monks." In addition to the literature written by them in the language of the masses, they also chose to write in Sanskrit which was considered to be the language of the intellectuals. The result is that they were able to produce literature of amazing significance even in Sanskrit language and could make salient contributions to it.

It will not be out of place to mention that Rajasthan has been a great centre of Jaina literature. Haribhadra and Harisena of Chittore,

Uddyotanasuri of Jalore, Ashādhara of Mandalagarh, Pt. Todarmal of Jaipur, Acharya Bhikshu of Jodhpur, and Acharya Ganeshilal of Udaipur have been some of the great scholars of Jaina learning in Rajasthan. The contributions of Jaina scholars of Rajasthan to Prakrita, Apabhraṃśa, Sanskrit and early Hindi are unique. The study of growth and development of Rajasthani and its various dialects is not possible without the study of Apabhraṃśa works of Jaina authors of this area. It is of capital importance to note that in order to preserve the works written in different languages in the various periods of history, the Jainas have built manuscript libraries. Jaisalmer, Bikaner, Jaipur, Ajmer, Nagaur, Kota, Bundi, Beawer, Udaipur, Jodhpur and so on are known for rich collection of manuscripts. In fact, every Jaina temple is a manuscript library in miniature. Some of the rare manuscripts are preserved in these libraries of Rajasthan. These manuscript-collections are a part of our national wealth and every effort is to be made to bring them to light and I think if the Universities take this responsibility many substantial additions to the wealth of Indian literature can be made.

Besides pursuing philosophical, religious and literary activities of significance, Jainas have also contributed to the development of art and architecture, sculpture and painting from very early times in the history of Indian art. Mathura has been a great centre of Jaina art. From the early centuries of the Christian era Mathura is a store-house of Jaina art and architecture. The earliest form of Jaina architecture is Stūpa, which is known to us from the excavations of Mathura. Since Jaina Saints have always preferred natural sites for their spiritual practices and preachings, Jainas have built caves and cave temples for these purposes. The earliest examples of such Jaina caves are found in the states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Andhra, Orissa, Karnatak and Tamilnadu. The most important caves of the Jainas from the artistic point of view are the groups known as the Indra-Sabhā and the Jagannātha-Sabhā at Ellora. According to Percy Brown, "No other temple at Ellora is so complete in its arrangement or so finished in its workmanship as the upper storey of Indra-Sabhā." I may point out in passing that at Ellora we find the picture of the mythology of India as very well represented by the three great religions of India, namely, Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism. These caves are the examples of rock-hewn architecture, which is distinct from the structural architecture of temples. Jainas have built a large

number of temples in different parts of the country. Temples of Halebida and Modabidri in the South, Devagarh and Khajuraho in Madhya Pradesh, Ranakpur and Delvara in Rajasthan, Palitana and Girnar in Gujarat are some of the examples of the structural architecture of Jainas. It may be noted here that the Jainas almost invariably selected a picturesque site for their temples. Besides, they created a number of places holy "sites of temples." The Kirtistambha of Chittore in Rajasthan and the Bāhubal image at Sravanabelagole in Mysore are the distinctive contributions of the Jainas to Indian art. It will not be less important to point out that cave temples at Sittannavasal in the far South constitute some of the best examples of classical wall paintings in India. Besides, there are several illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts and various illustrated copies of paper manuscripts which are preserved in the manuscript libraries of Delhi, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharastra and Mysore. They give us an idea how the Jainas have subscribed to the art of painting in India. Paintings on cloth and painted wooden covers are also found in the manuscript libraries of Rajasthan. In the manuscript collection of Jaisalmer about twelve wooden painted covers have been discovered. The oldest of them is 26 inches in length and 3 inches in breadth. "This painted wooden cover is of great importance as it is the earliest of its kind and its painting forms a connecting link between the later paintings at Ellora and the full-fledged Western Indian School.

So far I have drawn your attention to some of the very important contributions of the Jainas to the field of religion, philosophy, literature, and art. But I may point out that these academic strivings did not deprive them of attending to the call of social and national duties. They seem to me to be aware of the fact that without social upliftment and national security nothing worthwhile can be achieved. The Jaina monks have always directed the attention of people to individual and social values which are essential for the establishment of a rational social order. Since they move from one place to the other they are capable of making contacts with the large number of people with the result that to a very great extent they could persuade them to regulate their physical needs in tune with the principle of Ahimsā. Some of the Jaina monks because of their austerity and learning attracted the attention of Kings. Hīravijayasūri was invited by Akbar to Fatehpur Sikri where he discussed the problems of philosophy and religion first with Abul Fazl and then with Akbar. Later on, Hīravijaya persuaded the Emperor "to issue an edict forbidding the slaughter of

animals for six months, to abolish the confiscation of the property of the deceased persons, to set free many captives, snared birds and animals." Fishing was prohibited at Fatehpur Sikri. Jainacandra-sūri also prevailed upon Akbar to issue a 'Farman' prohibiting the slaughter of animals for seven days every year in the month of Āṣāḍha. Many more examples of this nature can be found in the history of Jaina church. This simply shows how the Jaina monks were anxious to establish a non-violent social order. The most significant illustration of the influence of Ahimsā is that of Mahatma Gandhi who calls Rājacandra his Guru in inculcating in him the spirit of Ahimsā. Mahatma Gandhi can be rightly called an incarnation of Mahāvīra.

However, the principle of Ahimsā did not prevent the followers of Jainism from their duteous actions when war situations faced them. In Rajasthan, Gujarat and Karnatak, Jainas were holding highly responsible posts, some of them were Military Chiefs. I shall give you only a few examples. Vimala fought against Mahamud Ghazni with his master Bhima I. Ratansingh Bhandari of Jodhpur waged wars against the Marathas. Samashera Bahadura was a Commander-in-chief of Maharana Vijaya Singh. It was Asasaha of Kumbhalmer (Udaipur) who gave shelter to the infant prince Udaisingh, the father of Maharana Pratap, when Panna Dhaya approached him in order to save Udaisingh from the clutches of Banavira. Bhamashah, the Divan of Maharana Pratap gave all his money to his master to wage a war against the Mughal Emperor, Akbar. Bhamashah himself was a great warrior. Divan Ramchandra of Jaipur restored the kingdom of Amer to Swai Jaisingh who was defeated by Bahadurshah. All this shows that Jainas did not shirk the heavy responsibilities and onerous duties under the garb of Ahimsā, rather they faithfully engaged themselves in defending the territories from the enemies. In view of this it is not surprising if the Jainas have contributed their share to the freedom movement of this country.

These are, in brief, the contributions which Jainas have made to the various fields of activities. I am sure the deliberations of the galaxy of scholars attending this seminar will be fruitful in promoting the cause of Jainological studies in India in order to understand and evaluate the national heritage properly. The University of Udaipur is taking steps to contribute its own share to this great academic movement of national importance.

I am thankful to Dr. Dwivedi for giving me this opportunity. Once again I extend a hearty welcome to all the delegates to this Kashmir of Rajasthan and crave their indulgence for lack of comforts.

Now, I declare this seminar open. Jai Hind.

JAIN CONTRIBUTIONS TO INDIAN HERITAGE

(General President's Special Address)

Dr. A. N. Upadhye

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Since I read major portions from Tod's monumental work on Rajasthan, I developed great interest in this area. Some years back, I had visited Jaipur and Jodhpur, and was yearning to go to Udaipur. Thanks to my friends, Dr. Sharma, Dr. Dwivedi, Dr. Sogani and others, I came here last year. Udaipur has beautiful natural environments; and, at the same time, it has great historical associations of which any nation would be proud. I am happy, I am visiting Udaipur a second time, and it is very kind of the organisers of this Seminar to request me to speak to you this evening. I thank them for giving me this opportunity. While discoursing on the Jaina contributions to Indian heritage, I cannot but think of Rajasthan where Jainas and Jainism have left a significant stamp on its cultural history.

I could appreciate all this better when I read the thesis, Jainism in Rajasthan, by Dr. Kailash Chand Jain. I have got this book published in the Jivaraja Jaina Granthamala, Sholapur, some years back. Further, when I studied the Apabhramśa language in my Introduction to the Paramātmā-prakāśa, I had to deal with certain Rajasthani songs and thus came to know a bit about Diṅgala and Piṅgala. I could realise how the study of Apabhramśa language and literature is closely linked with the study of Rajasthani language and literature : without the study of the former the latter could not be properly understood. It is these that have attracted me to this part of the country. In the history of our country, Rajasthan has presented great examples of heroism, self-sacrifice and generosity.

I may tell you one small incident here. Day to day, some of our isms are making us blind to the bright spots of history in other parts of our country. Lately, I happened to preside over one of the sessions in the International Congress of Orientalists at Paris. One of the participants read a paper on a historical topic. He wanted to tell about the heroism of Sikhs, and he was giving parallels from Greek

history, and so on. He went on praising the Sikhs to such an extent that I felt happy over their bravery and feats of heroism. But the picture that was drawn by him indicated that there was no heroism in any other parts of India. I could see, the entire audience, many in which were specialists in Indian history, was a bit restless; and Dr. Satish Chandra, the Vice-Chairman of U.G.C., wanted to speak on the topic. I did not want much discussion further, because that would have meant some bitterness and that too in a foreign country with an international audience. Dr. Satish Chandra asked me whether the Chairman would not allow others to speak on this topic. I added that I cannot disallow; but, let us, as far as possible, control ourselves. He came to the dias and just made the earlier speaker flat by his short but highly factual and effective speech, to the relief of the audience. Then, in conclusion, I said : there is Rajasthan, there is Maharashtra, there is Karnatak and there are other parts of India where the sons of the soil have been equally heroic, if not more heroic than the people of Panjab; and let us not take the tree for the wood. It often happens like this, because of our limited equipments and partial studies. But now the stage has come when we have to appreciate the achievements of others in different parts of our country as well. That way the studies of foreign scholars have been beneficial to us, because they could take a broader view of the situation. Today a good deal of literature on various topics is appearing in regional languages, and very few of us can study more than two languages. It is this that is somehow closing our eyes and minds to the achievements of our brethren in other parts of our country. It is necessary, therefore, that our scholars have a wider look and a broader perspective to appreciate the achievements of our country as a whole. With these preliminary remarks I would like to say something about what the Jainas and Jainism have contributed to the Indian heritage.

In good old days very few people read books of other religions excepting for criticising them. One can see this throughout the mediaeval period. We have now passed that stage. Today we want to read the books of other religions to understand them, to widen the horizon of our knowledge, and if possible to put some of the principles into practice. Such an attitude was not there in early days; and to this a number of works of mediaeval logicians can bear witness. That way Jainism has suffered a good deal in its understanding and also in its estimation.

While there are Jainas in every part of India, their distribution

in different areas is of varying pattern. They are largely concentrated in the western regions of India. The population of Jainas in Rajasthan is next only to that in Maharashtra. Then follow Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore and Uttara Pradesh. All these nearly constitute 90% and the rest of them are in other parts of the country. May be the distribution is uneven; but there are Jainas scattered all over the country, right from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and from Jamnagar to Jorhat. Thus they are an all-India community. What about their position in early days? It is very difficult for us to say anything definitely. Jainism thrived once very much in Bihar where Mahavira and Buddha preached their doctrines in the sixth century B.C. But today there are no indigenous Jainas in Bihar which, of course, has a few holy spots and some ancient relics associated with Jainism. If there are Jainas in Bihar today, it is only very lately that they have migrated to that area from western India for trade and business. More studies on the vicissitudes Jainism suffered in the eastern India are a desideratum. If you go to Maharashtra and Karnataka you find some villages mostly populated by Jainas with a very few families of others. In the present-day pattern, the Jainas can be called a minority, an insignificant minority, in the sense that they can never hope to get any political power on the strength of numbers. It is impossible for them. If there have been certain prominent positions occupied by them now and then and here and there, it is only on the sheer strength of their merits. But a minority can become a stronghold if it has got certain values to abide by. I am told once in M.P. almost all the ministers were from this minority community. It is only on the strength of their intrinsic merits that such a minority can hold its head aloft with respect and dignity.

Jainism has been there in this country for the last three thousand years or so; it has not spread much outside the boundaries of this country. In the progress of its studies, we are very much obliged to European scholars who brought it on the plane of the studies of other religions of the world. Lately Jainism finds a place in most of the important treatises on religions of the world. In the past the Jaina monks and some Jaina householders studied Jaina scriptures for the guidance of their religious practices. This study was a matter of piety and faith. With the advent of European scholars in the field of Indic studies, the methods and objects of study underwent a great change. Today the intellectuals have more interest in the study of Indian religions, so Jainism is also studied along with others.

Religious teachers, as far as India is concerned, often required the patronage of rulers; and such a patronage can be used for the benefit of the entire society, but sometimes it could be used badly also by illtreating others who do not conform to one's views. Jainas have been lucky in getting such patronage now and then in different parts of India. So far as Eastern India is concerned, we do not know how long the patronage they got from Śreṇika and others continued. But turning to South India, they received patronage from various ruling dynasties like the pāṇḍya, Gaṅga, Kadamba, Rāshṭrakūṭa, Kaḷachūri, Raṭṭa, Silāhāra etc., This gave great incentive to Jaina teachers to carry on their pious, religious and literary activities. It is the view of some scholars that once the Jainas were in large numbers in different places; but somehow I have found myself unable to accept their figures; of course, I have an open mind on this topic.

Whenever Jainas got royal patronage, they could develop certain institutions for fourfold charity : āhāra-aṁśadha-abhaya-jñāna-dāna, for the benefit of those who were less fortunate. The monks could devote much of their time for literary pursuits and socio-cultural activities which would raise the moral tone of the society. The life of Jaina monks has been one of detachment and renunciation, so the layman has always felt respect for him, and was ever ready to receive lessons in good behaviour from him. The Jaina monks have a great share in enriching the cultural heritage of our country. It is from a Jaina monk that Mahatma Gandhi, under the guidance of his mother, accepted certain vows prior to his going out for higher studies in England. Grants were given by rulers to some of the fine temples built by Jainas; and guilds received grants of land for maintaining the ascetic community. The teachers wanted to be nearer the masses. So they picked up the regional languages for their preachings; and some of the learned teachers and authors raised the regional languages to a classical dignity. The Jainas have used this patronage worthily. The late Dr. B.A. Saletore has observed in plain terms that throughout our history whenever the Jaina rulers were in power there is not a single instance of tyranny on the followers of other religions. This is but natural. In their behaviour towards their subjects, the rulers were guided by eminent teachers wedded to Ahimsā. They were, in addition, broad-minded; and there was nothing like proselytisation at the point of sword. They were tolerant, and never illtreated anybody, nor did they discriminate their subjects on the basis of religion or creed. All this we have on record, so far as Jaina

rulers were concerned. After the loss of royal patronage, it is the affluent section of the society that has been helpful to Jainism and its institutions. In Western India, it is the mercantile section of the society that extended patronage to Jainism and to the socio-cultural activities of the Jaina teacher. In Gujarat the patronage of Siddharāja and Kumārāpāla did not last long. Later on, it is merchant princes that encouraged Jaina monks and laity in various religious and benevolent activities. This is true more or less in other parts of India too.

Some of the temples in the South are so grand and rich in architecture that the poor community round about is not in a position to maintain them in a proper condition. I may add here a few words about the temples at Karkal and Moodbidri, in South Kanara. In Karkal there are some eighteen Jaina temples; and there was a time, some years back, that there were not even eighteen Jaina families. Now and then a question has been asked how and why so many temples came to be built and stand neglected now. I tried to understand this problem closely. When a Jaina ruler was there, some of the ministers, generals etc. were Jains. Every one of these dignitaries built a temple, because that was a matter of social and religious respectability and duty. There was almost a silent competition among the local dignitaries and merchants, and every one built a good temple, a better temple dedicated to Jina. The capital towns were studded with temples, as at Karkal. But when the royal patron disappeared, these dignitaries, who depended on the king, left the capital and migrated to those places where they had their landed property. In those days they were not getting pension in cash, but they were given lands by the king for their services. Naturally they shifted to their landed properties, and their temples remained neglected in the capital. Some of them still maintain these temples from a distance: but they are in a minority. In Moodbidri also we have so many temples, almost a lane of temples: they were all constructed by bankers and merchants. They had trade connection with African coast; and, in exchange of the commodities exported by them, they imported jewels, pearls etc. Their piety and religious zeal induced them to cut statues of Jina out of them for their worship. What better use could they make of them? All this is our national wealth, and we have to be proud of them.

Perhaps many of you know that there is a statue of Bāhubali or Gommatesvara, 57 feet in height, on the top of a hill at Shravana Bel-

gola, at a distance of forty miles from Mysore. It is a marvellous piece of art of which any nation should be proud. It was constructed and consecrated by Chāmuṇḍarāya, minister of and army-chief under the Ganga ruler Rācsamall (974a-984 A.D.). Chāmuṇḍarāya had a personal name Gommata; and, after him, the statue came to be known as Gommateśvara wherever it was erected subsequently. The spirit of Chāmuṇḍarāya is still alive in our country. Only a few months back Shriman Veerendraji Heggade of Dharmasthala (S.K.) has got carved another image of Gommateśvara, some 39 feet in height. It was carved at Karkal, the boulder being secured from the same quarry from which the one for the Karkal image was once procured; and it will be installed at Dharmasthala, a great holy place in the South. Some criticism appeared in the papers. I happened to preside over the function at which Shriman Heggade and the sculptor Shri Gopal Shenai were honoured, on the day the statue was shifted from Karkal to Dharmasthala, by the public of Karkal. On that occasion Shri Shenai narrated the entire story how the statue came to be carved etc; and Shriman Heggade added quite modestly: 'Whatever spare wealth I possess I am spending on this. I have not done anything to lead the people astray on unethical lines like drinking, gambling etc. I have done something which will give peace to the people and which will put better ideals before them: ideals of detachment, mental quiet, piety and spiritual satisfaction.' I tell you there was nothing communal as alleged by some. Almost the entire population of Karkal and round about, irrespective of caste, creed and community, attended this function, and felt religiously rewarded in pulling the statue to Dharmasthal, 35 miles away. Lifting the statue from the spot of its carving, putting it on the specially made trolley, and pulling it along the zigzag route with weak bridges on the way was a feat of Engineering skill. It was a big procession, a procession which can never be possible for any political leader or all leaders put together in any country. People have this religious zeal in them and a great piece of art is created to enrich our heritage and to inspire future generations. If we are not going to feed this zeal in a proper manner and encourage this artistic incentive with due recognition, what are we going to do with our wealth? Once I heard a political leader. He was talking of the prosperity of the country and the stability of the nation which political leaders bestow on the people. Political leaders may give us some political freedom, some technical and technological progress, some prosperity to a few; but, so far as moral and ethical values are concerned, they can never be

an example to us. Gandhiji is gone; he did not lead a double life; and he practised what he preached unlike most of the politicians. It is such statues and it is such institutions, if properly availed of, are sure to inspire in us cultivation of high moral values. In a way, these are blessings for man who is under great stress today. Not only in our country, but even in those countries which you are accustomed to call materialistic (rather wrongly), the general public flocks to places of worship. I have seen how thousands of people come to the Notre Dame in Paris or to that ancient church in Chartre and offer worship there. A truly religious man never kills his conscience: he is true to himself and also true to others. This spirit is there in general in our country, and the future India cannot afford to lose it. This spirit is not at all inconsistent with scientific spirit and technological progress.

As to the contribution of Jainas towards enriching Indian culture, there are various aspects from which this subject can be studied and presented. So far as Indian art and architecture are concerned, this minority community, despite its limited numbers, has been sufficiently generous in this direction. There exist ancient cave-temples in South India, round about Madurai, at Sittannivasal and other places. They possess Brāhmī inscriptions, and they were dug by the richer section of the society for the benefit of Jaina monks. Some of them have fine paintings too, more or less like the caves at Ajantā. Then we have Jaina temples practically all over India. There is a religious injunction that pious Jainas are not to live in a place where they have not got a temple for daily Darśana. This meant, wherever the Jainas are living, they should have a temple for their daily worship. So far as the temple architecture is concerned, these temples have their specialities. In the South the Jainas have so many temples, some under worship and some altogether neglected. In many places the excess wealth of the rich was used for building the temples and for other pious activities, for the benefit of the society. What was that section of the society which wanted temples to be built, and images to be carved etc? Certainly it is the artisan, craftsman, and other workers in the villages who welcome the building of temple. And rich people who had *parigraha-pramāṇa*, i.e., they would not possess wealth beyond a certain limit, expended their excess on temples etc. We are not to judge these matters from the point of view of our present-day values. Today Professors want donations for Colleges and Universities; Doctors want Hospitals to be established. Likewise, in olden times, masons, artisans, sculptors etc. wanted temples, Ghats etc. to be constructed. These institutions fulfilled a social obligation, and also went a long way to satisfy the religious aspirations of the donors as well as of the pious

people. A good deal of agricultural wealth got distributed in this way. Temples, as places of worship, brought many people together; and it became a centre from which pious and healthy ideas were disseminated.

So far as Jainas are concerned, there are four pillars which have supported their social organisation. One is the Temple, second is the Ascetic or Muni, the third is the attachment for the Sangha or community based on religious instinct or way of living; and the fourth is the Scripture. These have stood by them all along, and I think, they have lent strength to every religious order. In one way or the other these go to breed religious spirit among the followers. Further, the temple-building and image-worship have encouraged art and architecture; and Jainas, even as a minority, have made rich contributions in this regard. Jaina temples in Shravana Belgola, Karkal, Moodbidri, Halebid etc. bear witness to what the Jainas have achieved in temple architecture in the South, especially Karnataka. Turning to Rajasthan, the temples at Abu, Ranakpur are a pride for any country, and they have enhanced our prestige in architecture. These are real treasure, and we must learn to value them as such. It is said that Lord Curzon had a brilliant idea once. He wanted Taj Mahal to be shifted bodily to Europe. Then he realised that the cost of dismantling, shifting and reconstructing it would be more than building one again; and he gave up the idea. Who built it did not matter much; the spirit of human attachment is there; it is Shahajahan's love in concrete, in marble. Later on the Victorial Memorial was built in Calcutta, but there is no human touch about it. If it breathes any spirit, it may be perhaps that of imperialism. So these and other monuments like temples, statues etc. have got certain values behind them. If we are not recognising them, who else can be aware of them? These are all something inspiring to us. And this way the Jainas have not lagged behind in enriching the cultural heritage of our country by their temples, statues, miniature paintings, Mss. collections and such other achievements.

Then I come to the achievements of Jainas in the field of literature. As compared with their numerical strength, their literary heritage is so rich that one has to understand how this has been possible. The Jaina monk is an institution by himself; and his needs are very few. Jaina monks do not eat even two meals. They eat once, just to live and carry out their religious duties for their spiritual benefit. Leaving

aside the ancient saints, we can look at the example of a very late Jaina monk, Shri Sāgarānandasūri. What this monk has achieved for Jaina literature is remarkable. The Jaina monk has something ingrained in him and he devotes all his time to study and meditation, even food and sleep being rather incidental. Naturally these monks could contribute a good deal to literature; in earlier years they got training under their Gurus in different branches of learning. Jaina teachers have no partiality, much less fanaticism, in respect of any particular language. The idea of Devavāṇī never occurred to them. All vāṇ's have been the same to them; there was nothing like one superior over the other. What then was the object of these saints and teachers? Suppose I go to a village and start speaking in English, because I am a double graduate and so on; I may speak very good English, but what is the use of speaking in English to people who do not understand it. This has often happened and masses have been kept in ignorance for the advantage of a chosen few. In our country, Mahāvīra and Buddha were the first great teachers who spoke to the people in their language, whatever that language might be. Language is meant for communication and understanding; and these two teachers adopted the language of the people for their preaching. They preached to the public of Magadha in the Māgadhī dialect. This was perfectly right and quite beneficial to the people. Did the missionaries who came to India first ask the people to learn English and study their Bible? No. As a matter of fact, they translated the Bible into various Indian languages. They set up printing houses for that purpose, carefully studied our languages, prepared their grammars and lexicons and thus shaped these languages suitably for that purpose. This missionary spirit was there, even some 2500 years back, both in Mahāvīra and Buddha; and they accepted the language of the people to preach to them. That is how an era for Prākṛit literature was inaugurated. This example was adopted by kings like Aśoka, Khāravēla and Sātavāhanas.

So far as Jainas are concerned, their language of religion remained Prākṛit for a very long time. The entire early literature, both canonical and pro-canonical (in the South) remained in Prākṛit. But, in the South, in due course, they did not confine Prākṛits for literary purposes as it was done in the West, especially in Gujarat and Rajasthan. I am not aware of any South Indian Jaina author who wrote a prose-romance or a Kāvya in Prākṛit. The Prākṛit remained only a religious language, and some dogmatic and religious texts, like the Gommaṭasāra etc., were composed in Prākṛit. Nothing like a romance, or as it is called

dharma-kathā of the type of Samarāiccakahā or Kuvalayamālā, was ever attempted in Prākṛit in the South as it was done in Western India. But, side by side, the Jaina teachers were always aware that they cannot discharge their duties of preaching religious principles through only one language by ignoring local conditions and cultural environments. When they found that Sanskrit became the language of learning and culture practically for the entire country, they did not lag behind to cultivate it. Thus there is hardly any branch of Sanskrit literature which is not enriched by Jaina authors and teachers. They have composed grammars, lexicons, and works on poetics and metrics, apart from composing elegant Kāvya etc. In the field of Nyāya literature, they had their colleagues in Buddhist literature. And they followed in their footsteps, and produced eminent Nyāya works either as commentaries or independent treatise to expound Jaina principles in the perspective of contemporary controversies, both in the South and Western India. In due course they composed elaborate Purāṇas, Kāvya in addition to logical treatises. The Prākṛit languages and literature were their speciality; and they did their best to cultivate the same even in its changing phases like the Apabhraṃśa, and New Indo-Aryan. Much of our literature has grown only on imitation, and the Jaina poets could not be an exception to this. The ancient method of training was such that our poets had very little liberty for quite a new experiment. If we look at manuals like the Kaviśikṣā, we see how our poets were trained in a particular mould; and they all struggled to bring up their works to that standard. A Kāvya must have eighteen descriptions, otherwise it would not be a Kāvya. So the model was set and others followed it. What do we see in the field of our plays? After Kālidāsa much of it is imitation. How much Kālidāsa owed to his predecessors is difficult to ascertain at present, because we get the plays of Aśvaghōṣa in a fragmentary condition. Some authors like Śūdraka and Viśākhadatta are exceptions, and their Mṛcchakaṭika and Mudrārākṣasa have their special features. Many others imitate the earlier patterns. The Jaina authors have followed earlier patterns and have enriched various branches of Sanskrit literature, in addition to such Sanskrit works as contain the exposition of their religious doctrines and rules of conduct.

It was not merely religious spirit that encourages literary activities, but there was some regional feeling behind it in some cases. We know how some of our kings maintained wrestlers with them. For instance, a wrestler was patronised by the Maharaja of Baroda, another by the Nawab of Bhopal, and a third by the Maharaja of Patiala, and so on. Something like this must have been there in ancient India also so far as patronage to the learned was concerned. Many kings had a Paṇḍita-

maṇḍala attached to their courts. Hāla and Vikramāditya are well known instances. From the papers read at the Bhoja Seminar, which was organised at Ujjain, it was clear that so many works are attributed to the authorship of Bhoja. One wonders how Bhoja with his great interest in the harem on the one hand and in the battle fields on the other, could find time to compose so many works on different subjects attributed to him. One is prone to believe, and there are sound reasons for it, that he had an assembly of Paṇḍitas patronised by him. They dedicated their compositions to him, and they all went in his name. It has happened in one or two cases that a poem is addressed to Bhoja; and he himself is put as the author of it in the colophons. All this clearly shows that these kings patronised poets for the prestige of their region or kingdom; that is but natural. Like our U.G.C. patronising researchers today, the ancient kings patronised scholars and Paṇḍitas who quietly pursued cultivating various branches of learning. In Malwa we have the examples of Munja and Bhoja. After Bhoja, this pattern was seen in Gujarat. Siddharāja and Kumārapāla were great patrons of learning, and they made Gujarat great in the eyes of the learned world. We are told that Hemacandra kidnapped Sarasvatī from Kashmir and brought her to Gujarat. What does it mean? I understand, a cart-load of Mss. must have been brought from Kashmir to Gujarat, and they were studied by the local Paṇḍita-maṇḍala. When we look at the large number of works which Hemacandra has to his credit, one wonders how this man should have been able to compose so much. There must have been cooperation from younger scholars. Still earlier, during the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period, three authors, Vīrasena, Jinasena, and Guṇabhadra formed almost a composite literary personality to carry on to completion their literary projects. If we look at the bulk of the contributions of the first two, we can very easily understand that these saints had no other occupation than to pursue their study and composition all the time just eating a morsel of food, once a day. It is this dedication of the Jaina monks (and I cannot forget, there have been some members of the lay community as well, like Āśādhara Puṣpadanta etc.) that has enriched the literature of the South as well as North, both in Prākṛit and Sanskrit.

Some of the Jaina monks went to the South; when exactly and how are matters of further investigation. Some must have reached there by the Eastern coast and some others along the Western coast. They were already composing their works in Prākṛit and Sanskrit. But what about the local languages which were comparatively poor so far as literature was concerned. They were used quite effectively for day-to-day communication but not raised to the literary status like Sanskrit. In the Tamil Nadu the Jaina teachers and authors picked

up the Tamil language and in Karnataka, the Kannada language. Sanskrit models were there before them. But that was not enough. They understood the local genius, mastered the surrounding conditions, absorbed the indigenous ideas and idioms, and composed Muktakas and Kāvya in Tamil and Kannada, as if trying to build up a tradition of poetry which was once handled by authors like Aśvaghoṣa, Kālidāsa and Bhāravi. The Tamil Mukta poetry of the early period has close resemblance with the songs collected by Hāla. In fact, Ravikīrti refers to Kālidāsa and Bhāravi in the Aihole inscription. These poets by their earnest efforts and scholarship added classical dignity to both Tamil and Kannada. To begin with, in the early period, the Jaina authors had greater share in this renaissance of the local languages. Some scholars, for various reasons, do not want to accept this for Tamil; the reasons are anything but academic; we have to be academic and objective in our studies.

So far as Kannada literature is concerned, we have got three eminent poets who are known as Ratnatraya of the Kannada literature: Pampa, Ponna and Ranna. They had great mastery over Sanskrit literature, and were themselves poets of no mean order. While reading Ranna's Gadāyuddha one is easily reminded of the Veṇīsaṁhāra. In Pampa a good deal of the imagery of Kālidāsa is reflected. But it would be wrong to suppose that these were mere imitators. What they inherited they turned into finer expression with fresh moulds of imagery and touches of sentiment. Pampa has read Jinasena and Kālidāsa, but what he presents has the stamp of his poetic personality: this should not be forgotten. The horizon of scholarship of these poets was wide; and they have enriched the local languages quite successfully as the subsequent growth of them shows. Many Purāṇas and Kāvya are written by Jaina authors in Kannada. They wrote Kannada commentaries on their religious texts like the Gommaṭasāra; that was an achievement and also enrichment of Kannada. One such commentary, that of Keśirāja on the Gommaṭasāra, was later rendered into Sanskrit. Various branches of Kannada literature, grammar, metrics, poetics, even arithmetic and cookery, were cultivated by Jaina authors from the 10th almost upto the 15th century, though it is their contributions that were predominant upto the 12th century or so. Some of the authors were monks, but some of them just householders, often office-bearers of the state, like ministers, army-chiefs etc. Their chief object was to take the religious and moral instructions to the people as much as possible.

Side by side, in the South, there were great Jaina poets who were enriching Sanskrit language and literature also. Prākṛit was forgotten here as literary language, though it was used in some religious texts

like the Dhavalā commentaries, and texts like the Gommatasāra. An author like Jinasena, quite outstanding as a master of Sanskrit, has not been given his due in our estimate. His Pārśvābhyudaya is a samasyāpūraṇa of the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa, as the author himself has told us appreciating Kālidāsa's significant poem. If we compare these two poems, we see what a remarkable mastery over Sanskrit Jinasena had. The theme of the Meghadūta is well known. But Jinasena's theme is altogether different. Here we get the biography of Pārśvanātha and Kamaṭha's vengeance on him; and still the entire Meghadūta is fully incorporated here using one or two lines from it serially throughout the poem. To compose a Khaṇḍakāvya like this is no small achievement. At the hands of few scholars Jinasena has received compliments for his achievement. Jinasena has not stopped only with this. He completed the Jayadhavalā commentary begun by his teacher Vīrasena, and also undertook the Mahāpurāṇa which he did not live to complete. This Mahāpurāṇa is a remarkable work for various reasons. Apart from giving the Jains a pattern of society and living, this work contains many sections which are fine specimens of classical Sanskrit.

Then we have got the Yaśastilakā-campū of Somadeva. It has been thoroughly studied by Professor K.K. Handiqui and has been appreciated as a piece of significant literature. At the same time, more or less in the same area, Puśpadanta wrote his Apabhraṁśa works, the Mahāpurāṇu, Nāyakumāracariu and the Jasaharacariu. He wrote them at Mānyakheṭa under the patronage of the minister Bharata, during the Rāṣṭrakūṭa regime. I may incidentally mention here that eminent Jaina logicians like Samantabhadra, Siddhasena, Akalaṅka, Vidyānandi etc. have enriched the Nyāya literature; and they shed immense light on the contemporary philosophical controversies. The services of these authors in enriching South Indian literature cannot be easily ignored.

When the Jaina authors used Kannada and Tamil for literary purposes, there was felt the need of grammars and lexicons. Some of the Kannada grammars are presented through Sanskrit medium. Bhaṭṭa Akalaṅka wrote his Śabdānuśāsana through Sanskrit Sūtras: that only shows how Sanskrit was a respectable medium of understanding and instruction. A standard grammar is always needed for any literary language, and this need was supplied by Jaina authors from time to time. Keśirāja's Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa is looked upon as a systematic and thorough grammar of Kannada. Of course it is an exposition through Kannada with suitable illustrations. There are, as I said earlier, works on Arithmetic, Sūpaśāstra etc. written in Kannada. Whatever useful knowledge was available in Sanskrit etc.

was brought into Kannada. We are doing more or less the same thing today. The State Governments and Universities are encouraging translations into regional languages all that is worth knowing in other languages like English etc. These ancient authors had a sense of prestige for the language which they were cultivating and elevating to a higher status. In these contexts the influence of Sanskrit could not be avoided. At the same time, there was one Kannada poet, Āṇḍayya by name, who found that too much of Sanskrit was strangling Kannada by the neck, just as English has strangled the mother tongue. Many of us think in English and would like to express ourselves through English. Some of us cannot express ourselves effectively through our mother tongue; and whenever we try to do so, we use so many English words. Early Kannada Kāvyaas were full of Sanskrit words; and a poet of the spirit of Āṇḍayya would not tolerate this. He wanted to eschew Sanskrit vocabulary. That was a good spirit. Such a spirit is needed even today to save our indigenous vocabulary from oblivion and to use the language in a suitable manner so as to be understood by many. He wrote his Kabbigara-kāva or Guardian of Poets using primarily all Kannada words. Some of his words are of the pattern of Prākṛit vocabulary, perhaps they came nearer the vocabulary of the common man. On the whole, he has used a large percentage of Kannada words.

In Tamil many of the major Kāvyaas and minor Kāvyaas have been written by Jaina authors right from the early period. Works like the Śilappadikāram, Jivakacintāmaṇi etc. are of great eminence; and they have been so appreciated by the critics. A good deal of work has been done and is being done in Kannada literature, but in Jaina Tamil literature there is still great scope for critical and comparative study. Here is a good field for us, for students of comparative literature. Jaina authors composed their works in Tamil, Kannada, Prākṛit and Sanskrit side by side: very often the same theme is elaborated in all these languages by different authors. Of course, the local touches and differences in environments etc. are there. For instance, the story of Yaśodhara is available in all these languages, and there is scope for a comparative study of all the versions. An interlinking of our cultural values in all the languages of India is very effectively seen in the various branches of Jaina literature, because the same themes are worked out by Jaina authors in different parts of our country, under varying social setups and under unidentical cultural environments. I feel like mentioning another point here in the context of my observations on Tamil literature. The great Kural is looked upon as the Veda in Tamil country. There are some grounds for the claim that the author was Jaina by persuasion. There are some indications in

that work which are pretty close to Jaina ideology. Of course, scholars are divided in their opinions on this point. But some eminent authors have looked upon it as a Jaina work.

In the field of the earlier and modern phases of the New Indo-Aryan, the Jaina authors have rich contributions. Their objective was to convey religious principles and moral lessons to the society at large. So they always preferred contemporary living languages for this purpose. It is said that Jainas alone cultivated the Apabhraṃśa and enriched its literature; but this is partially true. It would be more correct to say that Jainas have carefully preserved Apabhraṃśa literature, because it was as much important and useful for their objective as Sanskrit and Prākṛit. Others have not cared to preserve their Apabhraṃśa works; but this does not mean that others did not use Apabhraṃśa language. We have reasons to believe that there were many non-Jaina texts in Apabhraṃśa. Excepting the Buddhist Dohā works, we do not get many texts in Apabhraṃśa today; somehow they were neglected. Hemacandra's illustrative verses clearly indicate that there was plenty of non-Jaina literature in Apabhraṃśa. It is good that Jainas have preserved so much of it. It is of special value for the study of New Indo-Aryan, especially many of our North Indian languages of today. When we read some of the later Apabhraṃśa texts of the 14th or 15th century A.D., we find that we are very close to what we call Old-Hindi, Old-Gujarātī etc. Some of our Hindi friends very often try to treat Apabhraṃśa independent of Prākṛits; but they will not fare well in their studies. Their approach may hold good in the case of a few later works; but ultimately, just as we cannot study Prākṛits without reference to Sanskrit and Pāli, likewise we cannot study Apabhraṃśa properly without referring to Prākṛits. In fine the studies of Sanskrit, Prākṛit (including Pāli) and Apabhraṃśa have to go hand in hand. One may specialise better in one or the other, but one cannot ignore the others altogether. To the extent to which we try to neglect the other languages, our conclusions remain deficient. Some of the Jaina authors have used all these three languages in one and the same work. We have many Apabhraṃśa works preserved in the Bhaṇḍaras of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh. What has been so far published is comparatively little; and still some bigger works are lying in Mss. Publication and critical study of these works will yield good deal of linguistic material for understanding the growth of New Indo-Aryan in various regions. I request Hindi scholars to devote more attention to this neglected field in which many texts await publication. Today there is a tendency to talk more about Apabhraṃśa repeating the old conclusions than to take up new works for editing and study.

It may be asked what Jainism and its devotees have done for the

Indian society as a whole? Some of the conclusions may not be acceptable to all, because most of us are accustomed to take the part as a whole. Some of these topics were discussed in the Seminar as well. To begin with, when Mahatma Gandhiji started preaching Ahimsā, I do remember, some intellectuals in our country criticised him very severely, because this Ahimsā, they thought, was something of Jaina brand which, no doubt, is true to a great extent. But later on, when Mahatmaji was very popular, these very intellectuals turned back and said: 'No, no, we have also Ahimsā in our religion; and Ahimsā, as a principle, is allright.' That is how Ahimsā was looked at in our country by some people. Jainism lays down rigorous practice of Ahimsā. I do not mean to say that every Jaina practises Ahimsā in this way. But the principle of Ahimsā, as propounded in Jaina works, is worked out quite systematically and rigorously. Unfortunately Jacobi translated into English Jaina texts dealing with the ascetic practices, namely the Ācārāṅga etc., in the beginning; and the rules governing the life of Jaina householders were not attended to. This created some misunderstanding among the historians that Jainism does not sanction fighting on the battlefield, and a good deal of blame was laid at the door of Ahimsā. The pattern of the practice of Ahimsā prescribed for a layman has allowed Himsā under certain conditions. In the history of South India there are many instances of pious Śrāvakas who have fought severe battles. You can get such instances in Gujarat and Rajasthan also. Jainism has laid down Ahimsā of the highest standard; but the limitations of its practice for a monk and for a householder are duly taken into account, in day-to-day life. Concession to some Himsā was inevitable while defending one's self-respect, family honour and prestige of sovereignty. In the practice of Ahimsā, on the individual level, there can be lapses, but on the whole Jainism has tried to place this great moral standard on a high pedestal before the community. And unless our standards are high, we cannot behave better. The horizon is never reached, but it is always there. Ideals are rarely reached, but they have to be there, because it is they that help us to judge human behaviour and our integrity in trying to reach them. Our behaviour must be in consonance with our objects; and there must be minimum gap between profession and practice. If we knock down the ideal, we lose ourselves. If any one of us goes astray, let it be looked down upon as an individual lapse; it can be corrected by him; but if the ideal is lost we lose the very standard of judging human behaviour. Today, unfortunately, due to alien influence some of our ideals have become shaky; and our cultural basis is being shaken. Once our moral standards are lost, the community, nay the society, loses its moorings. Let us take an illustration. The foot-ruler used by

us in schools and colleges may not be perfectly accurate; but we know that there is a standard foot-ruler in England which can judge the accuracy of our foot-rulers. In this way we have to look at the principle of Ahimsā: it is the highest moral standard to judge human behaviour. It helps us to judge many things: our attitudes, relations and actions. Even our judgments, good and bad, right and wrong, correct and incorrect etc. depend on our standards. Whether our weights and measures are correct or not depends on the standard ones which we have kept intact. If there is chaos in our standards, in our moral judgements, there is no hope for any community, for any society, for any nation to survive with dignity. There must be at least a few people who are rigorously sticking to the standard: well, the Jaina monks, by and large, are practising the principles of Ahimsā and Aparigraha; and they are an example for us.

How the Jaina monk is influencing the society round about him can be seen from the practice of vegetarianism. Vegetarianism is current, by and large, in those areas where the Jaina monks are moving about. If it has come to stay in most of the families, the credit, in large measure, has to go to Jaina monks. Even ladies of other communities have respect for the Jaina monk and they accept some vow or the other at their hands. Pious ladies in Gujarat and Rajasthan pay respects to Jaina monks; and therefore they also go in for such type of food as would be acceptable to a Jaina monk. This is true, to a great extent, in the South also. It was reported in the papers that Rajaji mentioned to Acharya Tulasi that the credit of making vegetarianism popular in the South has to go to Jainism.

Jaina Temples, Jaina monks and Jaina scriptures have kept up the spirit of Jainism, and of Ahimsā, quite alive in the society. Some of the Jaina theological concepts are influenced by certain popular notions and practices in certain areas. Jainism is very difficult to practise, as far as I see. A true Jaina cannot go to his God and ask for a son, or daughter, or some boon, or something like that or say even success in the examination. The Jaina God has no such function to do. But, if some Jainas are doing this, they have not understood the Jaina concept of godhood; and what they are doing is against the basic spirit of Jainism. The Jaina God is Vitarāga, Niṣparigraha: how can he give us anything? The Jaina worship means that the devotee wants to attain the position of Siddhas and hence he worships them. Siddhas are the Perfect ones, really the Gods in Jainism. They are not creators, nor have they anything to do with the worldly affairs like bestowing reward and giving punishments. The Jaina God is a spiritual Ideal, an embodiment of infinite Vision, Knowledge, Power or Energy and Happiness. It is only to develop these great qualities, which are latent

in all of us, that we should offer prayers, worship and devotion to the God and not to get anything from him. But ignoring this basic idea, the priestly type of religion has affected the Jainas too in some regions. The Karma doctrine, denial of a Creator and worship of the Ideal knock down the agency of priests. This may be one of the reasons why some authors have talked about the natural antipathy between the Śramaṇa and Brāhmaṇa, the recluse and the priest. If a śramaṇa goes on preaching publicly that the God cannot give you anything, and your prospects depend entirely on your own Karmas, the priest is sure to be offended, because all this cuts at the very root of his position. All along a priest has behaved in theistic religions as an agent of the God on earth.

In Jainism the Karma functions automatically. One is responsible for one's thoughts, words and acts: these attract a sort of material forces into one's soul which is liable to their consequences, good or bad. No one, not even the God, can intervene in this routine. This is something very characteristic of Jainism. But, in practice, many Jainas have forgotten this; and they are often influenced by priestly and theistic attitude current in the society round about them. To save Tirthaṅkaras from compromise, in certain places there is current the worship of Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī, as in popular Hinduism. That is how the worship of Kṣetrapāla and Padmāvatī etc. have become popular in some parts. In some places the image of Pārśvanātha is put on the head of Padmāvatī. A Yakṣa carrying the image of Jina on his head is a pretty old idea, and there is a reference to it even in the Kuvalayamālā. This is all a compromise due to the influence of the society round about, or a relic of worship brought in by families who accepted Jainism as a way of life at a later stage. This is all, in a way, conforming to the common Indian set-up of things; and Jainas, being a minority in the midst of a majority, could not escape the influence of the latter. A minority is subjected to such influences; but we should not mistake their practices for the basic principles of Jainism. Very often I find, even the vegetarians are becoming a minority; that is my experience. Those who follow some rigorously self-imposed rules are bound to be in a minority, but they need not feel any repentance on that count. It is better that the Jainas stick to their religion which teaches them a respectable, neat and worthy way of living. Some times today religion is used as a tool for some other end, such as political power, social prestige etc. What is professed is much different from what is practised; this has no place in a truly religious life. Religion keeps our conscience alert and puts us on the path of virtues, giving us mental satisfaction and spiritual solace.

Jainism has stood for three great principles: Ahimsā Anekānta

and Aparigraha. About Ahimsā I have talked to you at a great length: the example of Jaina kings and their rule is an enviable record which shows no tyranny on others, as testified by historians. In the intellectual field, the Jainas have adopted Anekānta. It does not mean compromise or doubt or uncertainty, but it means that Truth is many-sided; and one must be tolerant enough to understand the view-point of others. If Ahimsā is the social ideal, the Anekānta is an ideal in the intellectual field. As members of the society, the Jainas have been advised to practise Aparigraha, i.e., your possessions must be only to the extent of your minimum needs; and the surplus should be given to others who are less fortunate. This is voluntary self-imposition of socialism. You live and let others live; you sympathetically understand others when you are differing from them; and if you have more, you allow others to share it. Such is the sober influence which Jainism and Jainas have and are having on the society in many parts of the country.

Gentlemen, I have taken perhaps more time than was given to me. If I have said anything which needs more elucidation, further explanation, you are free to ask me your questions. We can devote a few minutes for this. I shall try my best to answer them in brief.

Thank you.†



†This is an extempore speech delivered by Dr. A.N. Upadhye on the occasion of the Seminar. It has been edited for the press by the speaker himself.

EVOLUTION OF THE SANATKUMĀRA-CARITA

Dr. H.C. Bhayani

Evolution of Indian religious myths and legends is a vast and intricate field of study. Jain myths and legends form an important part of this field and at its centre we find the Universal History.¹ The Jain Universal History usually enumerates sixtythree Great Men (*Uttama-mahā* or *śalākā-puruṣa*). Of the twelve Universal Monarchs (Cakravartins) included in the list, the fourth is Sanatkumāra-the previous three being Bharata, Sagara and Maghavan. The life-story of Sanatkumāra Cakravartin has been the subject of numerous works in Prakrit, Apabhramśa, Sanskrit and other Indian languages. Like the treatment of the stories of the other śalākāpuruṣas, the treatment of Sanatkumāra-carita too has passed through four stages. Initially, it is found as an isolated narrative more or less sketchy. Next, it is found as a part of full-fledged systematic works dealing with the account of all the sixty-three Great Men. Thereafter the individual Caritas occur as *dr̥ṣṭānta-kathās* embedded in some commentary, didactic *prakaraṇa* or tale-collection (*kathākośa*, *kathāvalī*). Lastly, we have independent works on some one Śalākāpuruṣa in the form of a regular Mahākāvya in verse, prose or a mixture of both. The table below presents most of the important Sanatkumāra-caritas according to the above-indicated fourfold categorization. (The abbreviation of the title of a work is given in adjacent parentheses).

<i>Sanatkumāra-carita</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Date</i>
I As an isolated narrative	आवश्यकचूर्णि and टीका	जिनदास हरिभद्र	8th cent.

1. See L. Alsdorf, *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, 1936, Introduction; Claus Brühn, Śīlāṅka's *Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacariya*, 1954; A.M. Bhojak, *Cauppanna-mahapurisacariya*, 1961 (Introduction by Claus Brühn). A.N. Upadhye, *Bṛhatkathākośa*, 1943, *Introduction*. The number sixtythree varies. At times it is given as fiftyfour (with the exclusion of the Prativasudevas), Seventytwo (with the addition of nine Nāradas). Previously Brühn has discussed the Sanatkumāra-carita from a comparative view-point, mainly on the basis of VH, CM, UVD and TŚ. See op. cit., pp. 74-75.

For references to Sanatkumāra in the Āgama literature, see M.L. Mehta and K.R. Chandra, *Prakrit Proper Names, Part II* 1972, p. 750.

II As a part of	चउपन्नमहापुरिसचरिय (CM)	शीलाङ्क	869
Universal History	उत्तरपुराण (UP)	गुणभद्र	before 897
	महापुराण (MP)	पुष्पदन्त	965-972
	त्रिषष्टिशलाकापुरुषचरित (TS)	हेमचन्द्र	C. 1165
	चउपन्नमहापुरिसचरिय	आम्र ²	bet. 9th and 15th Cent.
III As a kathā in	वसुदेवहिंडी (VH)	सङ्घदास	C. 5th Cent.
a larger work	उपदेशमालाविवरण (UV)	जयसिंह	9th Cent.
	धर्मोपदेशमालाविवरण (DV)	„	859
	बृहत्कथाकोश (BK)	हरिषेण	932
	कहकोस (KK)	श्रीचन्द्र	1070
	कहावलि	भद्रेश्वर	11th Cent. (?)
	उत्तराध्ययनवृत्ति (UVD)	देवेन्द्र	1073
	आख्यानकर्मणिकोशवृत्ति (ARV)	आम्रदेव	1134
	मल्लिनाहचरियं (MC)	हरिभद्र	before 1160
	नेमिनाहचरिय (NC)	„	1160
	उपदेशमालावृत्ति (UD)	रत्नप्रभ	1182
IV As a Mahākāvya	सणकुमारचरिय	गोविन्द ³	prior to 9th Cent.

2. See A.M. Bhojak, *Cauppannamahāpurisacariya*, 1961, Hindi Introduction, p. 42.

3. Dhavala's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* (about 12th cent.) and Dhanapāla's *Bāhubalicarita* (1398 A.D.) refer to a Sanatkumāracarita, probably in Apabhraṃśa, composed by a Śvetāmbara Jain poet named Govinda. See K. Kasliwal, *Praśastisaṃgraha*, 1950, p. 142; H. Kochhad, *Apabhraṃśa-sāhitya*, 1957, pp. 103, 236; P.J. Shastri, *Jaina-grantha-praśasti-samāraḥ*, part 2, 1963, Introduction p. 65, text pp. 12, 35. Moreover, Tribhuvana Svayambhu's *Riṭṭhaṇemicariya* (about ninth century), Nayanandin's *Sayalavi-hivihanakavva* (about 1044 A.D.), Devasena's *Suloyaṇā-cariya* (1075 A.D.) mention one Govinda along with Rudra, Daṇḍin, Bāṇa, Halika etc., in the list of famous poets. See Kasliwal, op. cit., p. 286; Kochhad, op. cit., pp. 175, 216; P.J. Shastri, op. cit., Introduction, pp. 47, 51, 72, text pp. 19, 25. Svayambhū quotes six stanzas from some Apabhraṃśa poem of Govinda, which seems to have Kṛṣṇacarita as its theme and was composed in different varieties of the Mātrā metre. See H.D. Velankar, *Svayambhūcchandas*, 1962, 4, 9. 1, 3, 5; 10.1, 2; 11.1; p. 156. It is improbable that these references pertain to the same Govinda. He rather appears to have been a non-Jain poet.

सणकुमारचरिय

श्रीचन्द्र 1158

सनत्कुमारचरित

जिनपाल 1206

Broadly speaking, the Digambara versions of the Sanatkumāra-carita (Sc.) as we find in UP, MP, BK and KK constitute a sub-group and along with VH version they form a group set apart from the rest of the Sc. versions by the fact that their account is confined to Sanatkumāra's renunciation and philosophical suffering of diseases. In the fully developed version that we find, say for example in TŚ, this part of Sanatkumāra's life-story forms the third section. We may call it section C. C seems to be the earliest part of the Sc, because the earliest works like VH and UP know only that much of the legend. The fact that in BK, DV, UVD and AKV the Sc. is given to illustrate how one should suffer with equanimity the consequences of the past deeds also supports such a conclusion. The account in the UP is the shortest, and the MP version is based thereon. The VH and UP versions differ in a few details, and so far as we can judge from the outline given in DV, UV appears indebted to VH for this part of its Sanatkumāra-carita. In the Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi and Haribhadra's Tikā we find only a few names related to the Sanatkumāra legend, without any element of the narrative. The same remark applies to the Sc. in CM except that we have now a systematized list of diseases that afflicted Sanatkumāra as a monk. But BK develops for the first time some points of the narrative (e.g. the incident at the court of Saudharmendra which occasioned the visit from two gods, Sanatkumāra's perceiving of the decaying character of his bodily lustre, the particular incident that was the direct cause of the diseases, the second visit from the same two gods to test Sanatkumāra etc.). KK mostly follows BK. The new elements that we find for the first time in BK are incorporated in all the subsequent Sanatkumāra-caritas of the Śvetāmbara tradition also (e.g. UVD, MC, NC and TŚ). But otherwise the Sc. in UVD is just lifted from CM. AKV seems to be familiar with the Sc. of DV, CM, BK and UVD as is clear from parallels in minor details, but as a whole it abridges the narrative in some points and adds on its own the sections on the *purusalakṣaṇa*, *strīlakṣaṇa* and *rogalakṣaṇa*. The MC version of the Sc. is little more than a verse recast of the CM version and the NC version is a poetic reworking of the same. The TŚ account in its C section is based on the UVD version (and through that on the CM version).

The story of Sanatkumāra from his birth to the point when he attained the status of a Cakravartin constitutes section B of the Sc. in its full form. This section is absent from VH, as also from UP and the rest of the Digambara versions. It appears for the first time, so far as we know, in UV and this is also a surmise made on the basis of

what we find in the DV outline, as UV is lost to us. Our earliest available source for a detailed account of section B is CM. UVD takes this over in toto, adding to it a few details from some other source. It is drastically abridged by AKV. MC gives us a verse recast of the CM version and uses it in NC for a poetic working over. TŚ uses CM and also some other sources. Consistent with its uniform plan it shifts to the beginning the account of the previous lives of Sanatkumāra which in UV figured in the midst of Section B. We may note here one quite significant detail that throws light on the relationship and mutual influence of various Sanatkumāra-carita versions. The name of Sanatkumāra's father was Anantavīrya according to UP, Aśvasena (Āsaseṇa) according to VH, UVD, MC, NC and TŚ and Viśvasena (Vīsaseṇa) according to BK, CM, AKV and UD. In this matter (and similarly in several other details) the Śvetāmbara and Digambara versions of the Sc. cross one other.

The remaining section of the Sc., the Section A, seems to be the latest addition. It deals with the previous births of Sanatkumāra. The account is absent from VH, UP, MP, BK and KK. It seems to have appeared for the first time in UV. But CM just touches it in a couple of verses. The earliest available detailed treatment is in UVD. In keeping with its casual approach to the narrative content of the Sanatkumāracarita, AKV altogether omits the account of previous births. TŚ and UD versions follow UVD (or its source version).

Thus we see that the Sanatkumāracarita has evolved in three stages. Originally it consisted of the story about Sanatkumāra's renunciation and severe austerities (section C). The romantic account of the earlier life was added later (Section B). Finally appeared the section containing the stories about the previous lives (section A). Section C has two versions. One, perhaps the earlier, is represented in UP and MP, while another in VH which found acceptance in the rest of Śvetāmbara and Digambara versions. The innovations in VH version of C, which we first find in BK, became a common heritage for later versions. The other two sections are peculiar to the Śvetāmbara tradition and they appear for the first time in UV. Thereafter they figure in most of the Śvetāmbara versions of the Sanatkumāracarita. Thus regarding the Sanatkumāracarita, on the one hand we have clear-cut Śvetāmbara and Digambara traditions relating to the legend as a whole, but on the other hand there is some definite influence and borrowing of details across the two traditions.⁴

4. For a more detailed comparison of various versions of the Sc. treated here, see my Introduction to Haribhadra's *Sanatakumāracariya*.

APABHRAṂŚA PASSAGES IN THE PRE-TENTH CENTURY ŚVETĀMBARA PRĀKRIT-SANSKRIT WORKS

Dr. K.R. Chandra

We have undertaken a study of the Apabhraṁśa passages occurring in some of those works (particularly Śvetāmbara Jain works in Prākṛit and Sanskrit) which belong to pre-tenth century A.D. Since Yogindu's date as well as the time of Buddhist Dohākoṣas is not certain therefore their study is not included. Rudraṭa's Kāvyaḷaṅkāra and Ānandavardhana's Dhvaṇyāloka are also included in our study. The Bappabhaṭṭisūricaritam occurring in the Prabhāvākacaritam has been also studied. The author of it says that he has composed it on the basis of what he received traditionally from the works of old learned authors. The biography is composed in Sanskrit but there are in it Prākṛit and Apabhraṁśa verses forming the dialogues between the King Āmra and Bappabhaṭṭisūri. In the verse No. 595, 'Kesari' the title of Bappabhaṭṭisūri's honour also occurs and it seems that he himself has composed this verse. This kind of verses leads us to think as if the Apabhraṁśa verses are set in original. Let us see whether this material is in the original speech of Bappabhaṭṭi (750-838 A.D.) or is represented by Prabhācandra in his own language who is post-Hemacandra.

The names of selected works for our study and their dates are as follows:—

1. Vasudevahiṇḍi of Saṅghadāsa (pre-6th Century A.D.)
2. Āvaśyakacūrṇi of Jinadāsagaṇimahattara (676 A.D.)
3. Kuvalayamālā of Uddyotanaśūri (779 A.D.)
4. Sanskrit commentary on Sūtrakṛtāṅga by Śīlāṅka (862 A.D.)
5. Cauppannamahāpurisacariyam by Śīlāṅkacārya (868 A.D.)
6. Kāvyaḷaṅkāra of Rudraṭa (850 A.D.)
7. Dhvaṇyāloka of Ānandavardhana (860-890 A.D.)
8. Prākṛtalakṣaṇam of Caṇḍa (date controversial)
9. Bappabhaṭṭisūricaritam in Prabhāvākacaritam (Bappabhaṭṭi's time 750 to 838 A.D.)

Our study is twofold—correct text-constitution and language-study. First we take up the problem of the correct text of the Apabhraṁśa passages, wherever necessary. All the Apabhraṁśa passages, except those occurring in the Kuvalayamālā¹, are given below and correct readings are suggested wherever it has been possible for me to do so.

1. Dr. A.N. Upadhye has already worked on it.

I Text Constitution

1. Vasudevahindī, P. 28.

पासि कप्पि चउरंसिय रेवाय (प) य पुण्णियं,
सेडियं च गेण्हेप्पि ससिप्पभवणियं ।
मइं सुयं पि एक्कलियं सयणि निवण्णियं,
सव्वरत्ति घोसेइ समाणसवण्णियं ॥

Amendments: रेवाय = रेँवाय, गेण्हेप्पि = गेण्हेप्पिणु, सुयं = सुत्तं.

Each foot has 22 morae and it is a हेला type metre, though the scheme does not agree with any one of this type of metre.

2. Āvaśyakacūrṇi, Part II. P. 184.

णंदो राया णवि जाणति, जं सगडालो करेहिति ।
नंदो राया मारेविणु, सिरियं रज्जे ठवेहिति ॥

Amendments : नंदं रायं मारेविणु. It is कुसुमित-केतकी हस्त metre having 14, 13, 14/13 morae in each foot. But there is another reading available in the vṛtti by Haribhadrāsūri (P. 694), on the Āvaśyakacūrṇi. It is as follows:—

रायनंदु नवि जाणइ, जं सगडालो काहिइ ।
रायनंदं मारेत्ता तो, सिरियं रज्जे ठवेहिति ॥

In view of these two readings the verse can be emended as follows:—

णंदु राया णवि जाणइ, जं सगडालु काहिइ ।
रायणंदं मारेविणु, सिरियं रज्जे ठवेहिइ ॥

It has 13/11, 13/11 morae and therefore it is a *Dohā*.

3. Kuvalayamālā

All the Apabhraṁśa passages, their metres and linguistic peculiarities have been dealt with by Dr. A.N. Upadhye (see Part II, PP. 79-81, 85-86.)

4. Śīlāṅka's commentary on Sūtrakṛtāṅga, PP. 107, 108.

- (i) कोद्वयग्रो को समचित्त,
काहोज्वणाहि काहो दिज्जउ वित्त ।
को उग्घाडउ परिहियउ, परिणिउ को व कुमार ।
पडियउ जीव खडप्फडेहिं, बंधइ पावह भारु ॥

Amendment : खडप्फडे हिं = खडप्फडेहिं. The latter two lines are of *Dohā* metre.

- (ii) वरि विस खइयं न विसयसुह, इक्कसि विसिण मरंति ।
विसयामिस पुण धारिया, णर णरएहि विपडंति ॥

Amendments : खइयं = खइउ, विसयमिस = विसयामिसि, पुण = पुणु,
णरएहि = णरएँहि. This verse is in *Dohā* metre.

5. Cauppannamahāpurisacariyam (P. 361).

- (i) सयणु परियणु बंधुवग्गं पि,
भिच्चयणु सुहि सज्जणु वि, धरि कलत्तु आणावडिच्छुं ।
अत्थुम्ह किल धरइ जाव ताव पुण्णेहि समगलु ॥

It is *Bahurūpā* metre of *Pañcapadī* having 15, 12, 15, 10, 16 morae.

- (ii) पिय अणुकुली धरि सरइ, अणु भुवणि जसवडहउ वज्जइ ।
एत्थ समप्पइ मोक्खसुहुं, मोक्खे सुक्खु किं कवलेहि खज्जइ ॥

Amendments : पिय = प्रिय in J. manuscript, मोक्खे = मोक्खे, कवलेहि =
कवलेहि. It has 13, 16, 13, 16 morae and is *Kāminīkriḍanaka* metre.

- (iii) संसारे असारए माणुसहो, केण वितेण सहं धइइ ।
जम्मइ अणिच्छए दइवहो, वि उप्परि सुहरासिहे चइइ ॥

- (iv) भुवण भूसिउ कउ सुहालो ओ,
पह पयडिय दलियु तमो, उइउ मित्तो दोसंतकारओ ।
पडिबुज्जेवि ठाहि तुहुं, गुणणिहाण णियकज्जसज्जओ ॥

It is *Māttakariṇī* having 16, 12, 17, 12, 16 morae.

- (v) पयडरूवहो सिद्धमंतस्स,
को अग्गए ठाइ तहो, सयलु लोउ णिदणह लगहो ।
पुच्छंतह अप्पणउं, जाइआइं बहुजणियरूवहो ॥
जसु जोईसर अप्पणिहि, भज्जइ किं पि करेवि ।
तं फुडवियडुक्कित्तणउं, इयर किं जाणइ कोइ ॥

Amendments : तहो = तहो, किं should be read short किं, कोइ =
कोवि. It is *Talamīnī Mātrā* having 16, 12, 16, 11, 16 morae.

The other two feet are in *Dohā* metre.

- (vi) वेसाहियउं जइ सिय केणइ अलद्धमज्ज, जुवइचरिउ जइ सिय अइ
कुडिल मग्ग, सालवाहणत्थाणि जइ सिय कइसयसंकुल, महासर जइ
सिय पोंडरीयसमाउल, वरणयर जइ सिय दीहसालालंकिय, बाहु-
बलिमुत्ति जइ सिय महासत्ताहिद्विय, अहिंस जइ सिय बहुमय,

जिणपवयणु जइ सिय बहुसावयाहिदिय, जिणवाणि जइ सिय
सव्वसत्ताणुगय, कालिदीजलप्पवाहु जइ सिय हरिबलमलियणाग
(य) ।

Amendment : जइ सिय = जइसिय

- (vii) अलिउलचलपम्हउडवियासियसुमणदलो,
उब्भडमहुमासो वि वियंभइ भूसियभुवणयलो ।
उब्भण्णचूयणवपल्लवकिसलयसदलए,
'को पिउ वज्जेवि वच्चइ ?' कूविउ कोइलए ॥
- (viii) जइ दइयवियोए विवज्जइ ता कहे दुज्जरिउ,
इय चित्तयंतो कलयंठिओ 'तुह तुह' उच्चरिओ ।
इय एव वियंभियमणहरबहुविहवच्चरिओ,
णि सुणंतु जणदणो लीलए वियरइ सच्चरिओ ॥

Amendment : कहे = कहे. It has 24, 26, 24, 26, morae. It has *Citrākṣarā* metre.

6. Rudraṭa's Kāvyaḷaṅkāra.

- (i) धीरा गच्छदु मेहतमु दुद्धरवारिसदस्सु ।
अभ्रमदप्पसराहरणु, रविकिरणा तेजस्सु ॥ 4.15
It is also *Dohā* metre.
- (ii) क्रीडन्ति प्रसरन्ति मधु कमलप्रणयि लिहन्ति ।
भ्रमरा मित्र सुविभ्रमा मत्ता भूरि रसन्ति ॥ 4.21
It is also *Dohā* metre.
- (iii) अहिणवकमलदलारुणिण, माणु फुरत्तिण केण ।
जाणिज्जइ तरुणीअणस्स, निद्धा भण अहरेण ॥ 5.32

Amendment : तरुणीअणस्स. It is also *Dohā* metre.

7. Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana.

महुमहु त्ति भणंतियहो, वज्जइ कालु जणस्सु ।
तो वि ण देउ जणदणउ, गोअरिहोइ मणस्सु ॥
It is also *Dohā* metre.

8. Caṇḍa's Prākṛtalakṣaṇaṁ P. 27. (also in Hem. VIII-4-353).

- (i) कमलइं मेल्लवि अलिउलइं, करिगंडाइं महंति ।
असुलहमेच्छण जाहं भलि, ते णवि दूर गणति ॥
It is *Dohā* metre.

- (ii) Caṇḍa P. 41, (also in Paramātmaprakāśa, verse no. 85)

कालु लहेविणु जोइया, जिम जिम मोहु गलेइ ।
तिम तिम दंसणु लहइ जो, णियमें अप्पु मुणेइ ॥

It is *Dohā* metre.

9. Bappabhaṭṭisūricaritam.

- (i) करवत्तयजल बिदुआ, पंथिय हियइ निरुद्ध ।
सा रोअंती संभरी, नयरि ज मुंकी मुद्ध ॥ 198

Amendment: पंथियहियय. It is *Dohā* metre.

- (ii) छायाह कारणि सिरि धरिअ, पच्चि वि भूमि पडंति ।
पत्तहं इहु पत्तणु, वरतर काइं करंति ॥ 202

It is *Dohā* metre.

- (iii) गय माणसु चंदणु भमरु, रयणायरु सिरि (ससि) खंडु ।
जड उच्छु य बप्पभट्टि किउ, सत्तय गाहासंडु ॥ 207

Amendments: जडुच्छु, बप्पभट्टिकिउ. It is *Dohā* metre.

- (iv) हंसा जहिं गय तहिं जि गय, महिमंडणा हवंति ।
छेहउ ताहें महासरह, जे हंसिहि मुच्चंति ॥ 211

Amendment हंसिहि. It is *Dohā* metre.

- (v) तत्ती सीअली मेलावा केहा,
धण उतावली प्रिय मंदसिणेहा ।
विरहिहि माणसु जं मरइ तसु कवण निहोरा,
कंनि पवित्तीडी जणु जाणइ दोरा ॥ 247

- (vi) पसु जेम पुलिदउ पीअइ जलु, पंथिउ कमणिहिं कारणिण ।
करबेवि करंविय कज्जलिण, मुद्धहि अंसुनिवारणिण ॥ 269

Amendments: पीअइ = पिअइ, करबेवि = कर बे वि. Its metre is *Kar-pūra Ullāla* 15/13, 15/13.

- (vii) गयवरकेरइ सत्थरइ, पायपसारिउसुत्त ।
निच्चोरी गुजरात जिम्ब, नाह न केणइ भुत्त ॥ 343

Amendments: पाय पसारिउ सुत्त, जिँव. It is *Dohā* metre.

- (viii) नन्नसूरिकृते: उद्धरणम्
कञ्चणड्डु सूवियड्डु गिरि, वेयड्डु वेहावइ । 499

It is one line of *Dohā*.

(ix) गोविन्दसूरिवचनानि—

जे चारित्तिहि निम्मला, ते पंचायण सीह ।
 विसयकसाईहि गंजिया, ताहं फुसिज्जइ लीह ॥
 ताहं फुसिज्जइ लीह, इत्थ ते तुल्ल सीआलह,
 ते पुण विसयपिसायछलिय, गय करणिं हि बालह ।
 ते पंचायण सीह सत्ति, उज्जल नियकित्तिहि,
 ते नियकुलनहयलमयंक, निम्मलचारित्तिहि ॥ 512

Amendments:

सीआलह = सिआलह, करणिंहि = करणिहि, सीह सत्ति = सीहसत्ति.
 It is कुंडलिया metre (दोहा + काव्य).

- (x) पंचमहव्वयजुत्त, पंचपरमिट्ठिहि भत्तउ ।
 पंचिदियनिग्गहणु, पंचविसय जु विरत्तउ ॥
 पंचसमिइ निव्वहणु, पगुणगुणु आगमसत्थिण ।
 कुविहि कुगह परिहरइ, भविय बोहिय परमत्थिण ॥
 बालीसदोसमुद्धासणिण, छव्विह जीवह अभयकर ।
 निम्मच्छरु केसरि कहइ फुड, तिगुत्तिगुत्तु सो मज्झ गुरु ॥ 595

Amendments: पंचविसयहुं जु, पंचसमिइनिव्वहणु,

छव्विहजीवह, सो मज्झ. It is *Chappaya* metre (2 *Sorathā* + *Ullāla*)

- (xi) कुक्खी संबल चत्तधण, निच्चुवलंविय हत्थ ।
 एहा कहवि गवेसि गुरु, ते तारणह समत्थ ॥ 596

Amendment: कुक्खीसंबल. It is *Dohā* metre.

- (xii) दो वि गिहत्था धडहड वच्चइं,
 को किर कस्स य पत्तु भणिज्जइ ।
 सारंभो सारंभं पुज्जइ,
 कद्दमु कद्दमेण किम सुज्जइ ॥ 597

It is *Pādākulaka* metre.

- (xiii) पइं सग्गए सामंतराय, अवरत्तउ न फिट्ठिहइ ।
 पढमं चिय वरिय पुरंदराइ, सग्गस्स लच्छीए ॥ 616

Amendment: वरियपुरंदराइ, सग्गस्स हु लच्छीए. It is *Sutāliṅgana* metre having 16/12, 16/12 morae.

II Apabhramśa Language

Before we proceed with the analysis of the language of Apabhramśa passages let it be noted that Dr. A.N. Upadhye has already written about the traits of Ap. in Kuvalayamālā¹. A few traits which have remained unmentioned are as follows:—

- (i) 'व' śruti, (ii) use of indeclinable मि for वि (अपि) (iii) अ ending masc. bases taking इ for Inst. Sg; (iv) हु for Abl. Sg., (v) ह for Gen. Plu.; (vi) Gen. Sg. हि and Loc. Sg. हि for Fem. bases.

General and Particular Traits of the above quoted Apa. passages from all the works can be accounted as follows:—

General Traits

A. Vowel Changes:

(i) Short vowel for long one

- (a) in spelling of words: ससिप्पभ्रवणिण्यं Vasu, भडूरय Kuva, तरुणिअण Kāv, गो अरिहोइ Dhvan.

- (b) before terminations: फलइ 50.4, भसुयओ 82.27
णायर-बालियउ 140.3 (Nom. plu. Kuva.), णयरिहि 50.15 (Loc Sg. Kuva.); Nom. Sg. अहिमु (vi), जिणवाणि (vi) Inst. Sg. अणिच्छए (iii) कोइलए (vii) (Cau.). Nom. Pl. कमलइ (Caṇḍa); Nom. Sg. मुद्ध198, Gen. Sg. मुद्धहि 269 (Bappa).

- (ii) One vowel for another: पुणि (पुनः) 6.22, पणि (पुनः) अणि (अन्ये) 149.15 (Kuva), वेहावइ (विभावयति) 499 (Bappa).

B. Consonantal Changes:

- व śruti जुवल 23.15, उज्जुव 72.32 (Kuva).

C. Declensional Forms:

(i) Nom. Sg. termination:

- (a) उ for अ-ending bases

णंदु (Ava), दुज्जणु (Kuva), कुमारु (Sut), सज्जणु (i) (Cau), मेहतमु (Kāv), कालु (Dhvan), मोहु (Caṇḍa) माणुसु 247 (Bappa).

1. See Kuvalayamālā, Part II. Pages 80-81, for the instances quoted below.

- (b) उं for Neuter bases with suffix क, वसाहियउं (Cau),
वल्लहउं 47.6 (Kuva).
- (c) Without termination
जीव, विस (Sut), भुवण, पह (Cau), गय 207, प्रिय 247, जुत्त
595, चत्तघण (Bappa).
- (d) Fem. Noun: Ending long vowel shortened
रेहिर पुहइ 147.25, मणि-संपुड, जइसिय 149.22 (Kuva),
अहिस (Cau), मुद्ध 198, सुत्त 343, लीह 512 (Bappa).
- (ii) Nom. Plu. termination :
- (a) Without termination
णर (Sut), मंडव 112.10, जुवाणय 112.14 (Kuva),
सीह 512, कर 269, भविय 595 (Bappa).
- (b) Neuter nouns ending in अइः अलिउलइं (Caṇḍa), देवउलइं
56.22 (Kuva)
- (iii) Acc. Sg. and Plu. without termination :
- (a) Acc. Sg., Masc. सिरिय (Ava), कुविहि, कुगह 595 (Bappa),
Fem. भूमि 202 (Bappa), Neut. मधु (Kāv).
- (b) Acc. Plu. पाय 343 (Bappa).
- (iv) Acc. Sg. of Fem. with shortened ending vowel :
चउरंसिय (Vasu), गोदावरि 152.11 (Kuva), प्रिय (Cau).
- (v) Instrumental Singular of अ ending bases :
- (a) ए-सहें 6.1 (Kuva), णियमें (Caṇḍa)
(b) इण-विसिण (Sut), फुरत्तिण (Kāv), कज्जलिण 269 (Bappa).
(c) ए for Fem. लीलए (Cau)
- (vi) Abl. Sg. हु-देसहु 152.11 (Kuva).
- (vii) Genetive Singular :
- (a) स्मु-तेजस्मु (Kāv), जणस्मु (Dhvan).
(b) हो-दुज्जणहो 6.11 (Kuva), माणुसहो (Cau).
(c) हे for Fem. रासिहे (Cau).
- (viii) Genetive Plural :
- (a) हं-खल जलयहं 6.17 (Kuva), पत्तहं 202 (Bappa).

(ix) Locative Singular :

(a) इ for Masc. bases, सयणि (Vasu), घरि 79.30 (Kuva) नयरि 198, सिरि 202, सत्थरइ 343 (Bappa).

(b) हि for Fem. bases, नयरिहि 50.15, 50.27 (Kuva).

(x) Locative Plural :

एँहि—खडप्फडेँहि, णरएँहि (Sut).

D. Pronominal Forms :

(i) Nom. Sg. तुहं (Cau), इहु 202 (Bappa),

(ii) Acc. Sg. मइं (Vasu).

(iii) Inst. Sg. पइं 616 (Bappa),

(iv) Abl. Sg. काहो (Sut)

(v) Genitive Sg. काहो (Sut), तहो (Cau).

(vi) Gen. Plu. जाहं (Caṇḍa), ताहं 211, 512 (Bappa).

(vii) Loc. Sg. जहिं 50.15, तहिं 72.35, कहिं 135.4 (Kuva), जहि, तहि 211 (Bappa),

(viii) कवण 247 for किम् (Bappa),

E. Conjugational Forms :

(i) Imperative II. Sg. ठाहि, कहेँ (Cau).

F. Participles :

(i) Absolutive :

(a) प्पि—कप्पि (Vasu), (b) एप्पि or एप्पिणु—गेण्हेप्पि or गेण्हेप्पिणु (Vasu), (c) वि—मेल्लवि (Caṇḍa), (d) एवि—पडिबुज्जेवि, वज्जेवि (Cau), (e) एविणु—मारेविणु (Ava), लहंविणु (Caṇḍa).

G. Suffixes :

(i) स्वार्थे—क :

एककलिय (Vasu), धवलउ 59.5, जुवाणय 112.14 (Kuva), पडियउ (Sut), असारए (Cau), जणहणउ (Dhvan), जोइया (Caṇḍa), भत्तउ 595, सत्तय 207 (Bappa).

(ii) Diminutive ड and ल :

जम्मडु (Cau), पवित्तडी 247 (Bappa) एककलिय (Vasu), समगलु (Cau).

(iii) अल्ल, इल्ल, उल्ल—भरियल्लउ 69, मारिएल्लय 112.11, जुवलुल्लएणं 23.15 (Kuva).

H. Indeclinables:

(i) Adverbial use of noun :

दूर (Caṇḍa), फुड 595 (Bappa).

- (ii) मि (वि-अपि) 56.22 (Kuva), इक्कसि (एकशः), वरि (Sut), भलि (Caṇḍa), सहुं (Cau), जिम, तिम (Caṇḍa), जेम 269, जिव 343 (Bappa).

I. Deshya Words :

सेडिया (Vasu), झंपुल्लिया 112.17, दुट्टु धोट्टु 112.21, भसुयओ 82.28 (Kuva), खडप्फड (Sut)

J. Peculiar Words :

- (i) जइसउ 6.4, जइसओ 45.17, जइसिय 50.12, जइसय 112.14, जइसउं 112.21, जइसियओ 113.21, कइसियओ 113.10, कइसिया 118.16, कइसओ 134.32 (Kuva).
 (ii) जइसिय, आणावडिच्छउं (Cau).
 (iii) एच्छण (Caṇḍa)
 (iv) छेहु 211, उतावली, निहोरा, दोरा, पवित्तडी 247, गुजरात 343, पंचायण, गंजिय, करणि 512, बालीस 595, अवरत्तउ 616 (Bappa)

K. Onomatopoeic Words :

करयर 5.30, चडप्फड 5.29, रवमरवमेंत, फुरफुरंत 23.16, चिलिचिल, किलिकिल 82.27, 28, मघमघ 169.27 (Kuva), घडहड 597 (Bappa).

Particular Traits

- (i) Retention of र in clusters—प्राण 47.6 (Kuva), प्रिय (Cau), भ्रमरा (Kāv), प्रिय 247 (Bappa).
 (ii) Insertion of र—वंद्रइं 82.25, 113.8 (Kuva).
 (iii) Change of व to म—कमणिहि (कवणिहि—कैः) 269 (Bappa).
 (iv) Change of स = ह—केहा 247, एहा 596 (Bappa).
 (v) आ as Nom. Sg. termination of अ ending bases. मेलावा केहा, मंदसिणेहा 247, एहा 596. These are the cases of suffix क = अ forming sandhi with the ending अ of the base. Also Voc. Sg. जोइया in Caṇḍa.
 (vi) Shortening of final long consonant of feminine bases before taking उ or ओ as Nom. Plu. termination. लयउ, मल्लियउ 169.26, 27 (Kuva). णिवसणओ 113.11, वेसओ 113.21, विमणओ 147.25 (Kuva)

- (vii) Inst. Sg. termination इ and इ of अ ending bases—कज्जि 152.11 (Kuva), विसयानिसि ? (Sut), कारणि 202 (Bappa).
- (viii) Inst. Plu. termination इहि of अ ending bases.—हंसिहि 211, विरहिहि 247, कमणिहि 269, चारित्तिहि 512 (Bappa).
- (ix) Gen. Sg. termination ह of अ ending bases—पावह (Sut), पुच्छंतह (Cau), बालह 512 (Bappa).
- (x) Gen. Sg. हि of feminine bases—सिरिहि 50.15 (Kuva), मुद्धहि 269 (Bappa).
- (xi) Gen. Plu. termination ह of अ ending bases—मोरह 113.8 (Kuva), महासरह 211, जीवह 595 (Bappa).
- (xii) Pronominal forms in Genetive Sg. with सु and हु termination and Plu. with ह termination
- (a) जसु 47.6 (Kuva), (Cau), तसु 247 (Bappa).
तहु 47.6, 152.11 (Kuva).
- (b) जाह 118.18 (Kuva).
- (xiii) इ as the termination of present tense of III. Plu. वच्चइ 597 (Bappa).
- (xiv) ह with अण as infinitive-participle, णिदणह (Cau), तारणह 596 (Bappa).
- (xv) Absolutive participle इ and इउ पच्चि 202 (Bappa), पसारिउ 343 (Bappa).
- (xvi) Past passive form of feminine with ई संभरी (संस्मृता), मुंकी (मुक्ता) 198 (Bappa).
- Here इ आ becomes इ अ and then ई
- (xvii) Diminutive Participle ड (See F. (ii) above).
- (xviii) Genetive suffix केरइ 343 (Bappa).

Date of Apabhraṃśa verses in Bappabhaṭṭisūricaritam.

The following characteristics of the language of Bappabhaṭṭisūricaritam can be considered as later developments in Apabhraṃśa :—

- (i) अ ending bases having आ in Nom. Sg.
- (ii) Words like केहा, एहा,
- (iii) Inst. Sg. termination इ of अ ending bases.

- (iv) इ as III Plu. termination of present tense.
 - (v) Absolutive participle इ and इ उ
 - (vi) Past passive feminine form with participle ई.
 - (vii) Genetive suffix केरइ
 - (viii) Presence of words belonging to the vocabulary of **old Gujarati** and **old Rajasthani**
- See J (iv) above, and the words किम and काइ for किम् (222, 597 Bappa).

These facts suggest that linguistically the Apa. stanzas from **Bappa**. may not go back in their original form to the 9th Cent. A.D. They may have been either composed at a later date or alternatively may have been influenced by some later tendencies.

Similarly Voc. Sg. जोइया and जिम, तिम words found in **Caṇḍa's** प्राकृतलक्षणम् suggest that this material is of later date.

THE JAINA CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN POETICS

Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy

I

In the histories of Sanskrit Poetics available to-day, though some Jaina authors are referred to in passing, we have neither a full survey of all the works nor objective assessment of them taken as a whole. Even in exhaustive surveys like that of Krishnamachariar the major works on poetics by ancient Jaina authors in languages other than Sanskrit are not to be found. The object of this paper is to give a brief outline of the Jaina contribution to the development of literary theories in India taking into consideration some of the major works in Sanskrit as well as in old Kannada.

Jinasena's *Mahāpurāṇa* (9th century A.D.) records in unmistakable terms the tradition of the Jainas that *Alaṅkāra-śāstra* or science of poetics including topics like *alaṅkāras*, two *mārgas* and ten *guṇas* was revealed by the *Ādi Tīrthaṅkara* himself for the benefit of humanity.

Upamāḍīnalaṅkāraṇ sanmārgadvayavistaraṁ |
Daśa prāṇānalaṅkārasaṅgrahe vibhurabhyadhāt ||
(XVI. 115)

It is again in this *Mahāpurāṇa* that we get for the first time an illuminating explanation of the word '*Vāṇmaya*'. Jinasena says that the three disciplines viz., grammar, prosody and poetics collectively form *vāṇmaya*:

Padavidyāmadhicchandovicitīm vāgalaṅkṛtiṁ |
Trayīsamuditāmetāṁ tadvido vāṇmayam viduh ||
(Ibid. XVI. 111).

As Dr. Raghavan has pointed out, the first clear enumeration of nine *kāvya-rasas* including *praśānta* and substituting *viḍanaka* for *bhayānaka* is to be had in one of the very ancient Jaina *āgamas* viz. *Anuyogadvāra-sūtra* (Āgamodaya Samiti Series Ed. P. 134).

Nava kavvarasā paṇṇattā, taṁ jahā-
Vīro sīṅgāro abbhūo a roddo a hoi boddhavvo |
Velaṇao bibhaccho hāso kaluṇo pasanto a ||
(*The Number of Rasas*, Second Ed. p. 158)

It has been estimated that this canonical *sūtra* cannot be later than the 5th century A.D. Possibly it is much older. In the Jaina poetic tradition as recorded by several old Kannada poets like Ranna (10th

century A.D.), Jinendra has only one *rasa* and that is *śānta*, and its *sthāyibhāva* is *tattva-jñāna*, a tradition also confirmed by Vāgbhaṭa.

Ninage rasamonde śāntame jinendra / /

(Ajita-tīrthaṅkara-purāṇa-tilaka, Jinastuti).

While praising Sarasvatī the same poet states figuratively that her ornaments are not sixteen, but thirty-six, alluding to the thirty-six *lakṣaṇas*, as against sixteen *saṃskāras*:—

Padinārullavalaṅkriyāracane

Mūvattāru nerpaṭṭavu. / (Op. cit.)

The doctrine of *lakṣaṇas* seen in Bharata was thus kept alive in the Jaina tradition though it went out of vogue in later Sanskrit poetics.

The Jaina religion naturally gave the highest importance to tranquillity or *praśānta* as the highest value in spiritual life. The same was imported openly into the field of poetics too; so openly that the Jainas went even to the extent of branding even secular poets like Kālidāsa as *kukavis* because of their excessive devotion for *śṛṅgāra*. Jinasena uses all his wits in rewriting Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* in such a way that each line of Kālidāsa breathing the spirit of *vipralambhaśṛṅgāra* is transformed to yield the *śānta* significance with the help of two or three more new lines added to by Jinasena himself. It is the famous *Pārśvābhyudaya*. In this *Kāvya* we have the out and out declaration that 'kāvyadharmā' i.e. *Kavisamaya* has forced *kukavis* like Kālidāsa to regard 'śṛṅgāra' as *satya* though it is *asatya* in fact:—

Syādvā satyaṃ kukaviracitaṃ kāvyadharmānurodhāt
Satyapyevaṃ sakalamuditaṃ jāghaṭītyeva yasmāt /
Sabhrūbhaṅgaprahitānayanaiḥ kāmīlakṣyeṣvamoḥhai-
stasyārambhascaturavanitāvibhramaireva siddhah / /

(Pārśvābhyudaya, III. 11)

This presents a new attitude towards poetry as such and gives for the first time an unqualified importance to religious instruction as the foremost concern of poetry. Although Bhāmaha and other Hindu theorists had allowed some room for ethical instruction incidentally in poetry, the general Hindu attitude is represented by the clear-cut statement in the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*:

Dharmārthakāmamokṣaṇām
Śāstraṃ syādupadeśakam /
Tadeva kāvyamityuktaṃ
Copadesaṃ vinākṛtaṃ / /

(Ch, XV. 1-2).

The distinguishing feature between *śāstra* and *kāvya* was thus none other than *upadeśa* or ethical instruction. The Hindu theorists

stood for secular poetry, while the Jaina theorists, like the Buddhists, pleaded strongly for a new tradition of religious and ethical poetry. In practice too we find that almost all the Jaina literature in Sanskrit, Prakrit and old Kannada is more religious than secular. This new tradition of pure religious classical literature left its strong influence on later development of vernacular literatures.

II

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Nṛpatuṅga (9th century A.D.) is credited with the authorship of the first work on poetics in old Kannada, the *Kavirājamārga*. The work is more or less a free adaptation of Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṅkāra* and much more of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*. But it begins with *Jinastuti* and has some unique ideas not found in Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. His definition of poetry for instance takes us beyond the words of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin to the *bhāva* of the poet on the one hand and to the *viśeṣa* of *śabdās* as well as *alaṅkāras* relating to *arthavyakti* on the other.

Kavibhāvakṛtāneka

Pravibhāgaviviktasūktamārgam kāvyaṁ |

Saviśeṣasabdaracanāṁ

Vividhārthavyaktivartitālaṅkāraṁ | |

What is still more interesting is his treatment of *mārgas* and their *guṇas* in relation to particular *rasas*, a fact not found either in Bhāmaha or Daṇḍin. More surprising is his nomenclature of the pathetic sentiment as *karuṇārāsa* in place of the usual *karuṇarāsa*. Nṛpatuṅga realises for the first time that *mārgas* are dependent on *rasa*. There is no clue in the book that he had read Rudraṭa or Ānandavardhana. Hence all the more reason that Nṛpatuṅga should get the credit for this progressive doctrine:

Bagedu mārgadvitayamam gatigaḷaṁ

Praguṇa guṇagaṇodayarkaḷ vitarkadiṁ |

Sogayisuvantu vacanaracaneyiṁ

Negaḷdire beraṣi peḷge rasaviśeṣadoḷ | | (II. 98)

Vīrasaṁ sphuṭoktiyinudāratamaṁ karuṇārāsaṁ mṛdū

ccārāṇeyindamadbhutarasaṁ nibiḍoktigaḷindamalte sr-

ṅgārāsaṁ samantu sukumārataroktigaḷiṁ prasannagam-

bhīrataroktiyiṁ prakāṣamake rasaṁ satataṁ praśāntamuṁ. (II. 99)

Utsavadinde hāsyarasaṁ mādhuroktigaḷindamalte bībhatsarasaṁ

taraṁ śīthilabandhanadiṁ satataṁ bhayānakodyatsurasaṁ karaṁ

viśamaṁ bandhanadiṁ nṛpatuṅgadeva mārgotsvamūrtitoktigaḷinakkati

raudrarasaṁ rasāvahaṁ. (II. 100)

["After considering carefully the procedure of the two *mārgas*, the poet should so compose his work that it will give the impression of

beauty to learned critics, and select each of them in tune with particular *rasas* as indicated below:

The *guṇas* of *sphuṭatā* and *udāratā* are appropriate for *virarasa*; *Mṛdūtā* suits *karuṇārāsa* most, and compactness (*śleṣa*) is best for *adbhuta*. *Sukumāratā* is suited for *srīgāra*; *prasāda* and *gāmbhīrya* go well with the delineation of *praśānta*.

Utsava is the occasion for the *hāsyarasa* wherein *Madhurokti* preponderates; *śītilabandha* favours *bībhatsarasa*; *viṣamabandha* is helpful in *bhayānaka*. *Ūrjitokti* is best suited for *raudrarasa*.]

We cannot dismiss his *karuṇārāsa* as a seribal variation of *karuṇa-rasa*. For, the example cited by him describes the *virahotkaṇṭhā* of the heroine; and the hero is called upon to show pity on her (III. 191). The *sthāyibhāva* involved here is *karuṇā* or *dayā* (pity) as against *śoka* or suffering.

An even more intriguing tenet of Nṛpatuṅga is his reference to *dhvani* as an *alaṅkāra* and his description of it as 'based on *śabda* though defective in *artha*'. His illustration of it is as follows:— "A pair of *animiṣas* (fish) is shining in the lotus. What a wonder!" The original is as follows:—

Dhvanivembudalaṅkāraṁ
Dhvaniyisugum śabdadinamarthade dūṣyaṁ |
Nenevudidanintu kamaḷado
ḷanimiṣayugamoppi torpudintidu codyaṁ | | (III. 208)

This reference is of unique interest to scholars because it shows an awareness of *dhvani* as a poetical concept in far off Karnatak, even before the *Dhvanyaloka* reached that remote province from Kashmir. It provides uncontested proof to the fact that *dhvani* was *samāmnāta-pūrvā* among literary theorists even before Ānandavardhana. Of course his idea of it is too hazy and mistaken to be considered seriously.

III

The next old Kannada theorist is also a Jaina. He is Nāgavarma II, the author of the *Kāvyaāvalokana* (Cīrca, 12th century A.D.). Though he expressly acknowledges his indebtedness to Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana and Rudraṭa, he has some new points of his own to add. His definition of poetry and idea of *śabda* and *artha* are unique:—

Ire śavdārthaṅgaḷ ta-
Tparateyinadu kāvyamadarolucitaikārthān |
Taravāci śabdamaavabhā-
Sarūpamāhlādakāriyappudadarthaṁ ||

None of the early Sanskrit theorists explain the nature of *sāhitya*, the unique relation of *śabda* and *artha* in poetry. Nāgavarma explains for the first time that it is *tatparatā* or exclusive aesthetic concern.

Regarding the nature of *śabda* again unique to poetry, none of the early Sanskrit theorists tell us anything important, including Rudraṭa who is the model for Nāgavarma. They just mention that it should be meaningful, and without defects, besides possessing excellences. The principle underlying the avoidance of defects or the inclusion of excellences goes unexplained. But Nāgavarma rightly points out that *aucitya* or propriety is the underlying principle of all literary usage of words. He regards *artha* again in aesthetic terms by characterising it as *āhlādakāri* in so many words. His addition that *artha* is *avabhāsa-rūpa* hints at his new philosophy of poetry comparable with the theory of *vaiyākaraṇas* that *pratibhā* is *vākyārtha*. (The word 'arthāntara' in the verse cited above does not mean 'another meaning'; it means 'one single meaning' like the word 'śabdāntara' used in his definition of *śabdaśeṣa*.) There is absolutely no trace of Nāgavarma's familiarity with *Navya ālaṅkārikas*. Hence his ideas become doubly important. He does not refer to *dhvani*.

Another outstanding contribution of Nāgavarma to Indian poetics is his characterisation of *rīti* as the *śarīra* (body) of poetry and *rasa* as the *jīva* or its life-breath. He adds significantly that though there may be no *alaṅkāras* praised so highly by the learned, the infusion of *rītis* and profusion of *rasas* will make a composition very enjoyable:

*Rīti vinūtavastukrtigoppuva mai rasabhāvavṛtti ni-
Rṇītiye jīvamantadarinanvitanappa kavīśvaraṁ budha-/
Vrātamoraldu biccaḷisi naccuvalaṅkṛti kūḍadirdoḍaṁ
Rītiyoḷonde peḷvudu rasaṁ biḍe bandhura-kāvyabandhamam | |*

This is indeed a new synthesis brought about for the first time between *rīti* and *rasa* even in the absence of a knowledge of *dhvani*.

IV

We might now turn to Jaina writers on Sanskrit poetics. These have been discussed in detail by modern scholars and do not therefore need any introduction. The first place among these is reserved for Hemacandra, whose *Kāvyānuśāsana* with his own commentary is noteworthy for more reasons than one. Though modelled after the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, his brilliant text-book covers all the topics of poetics thoroughgoingly. This is the first book to include dramatic theory in its purview and set an example to later writers like Viśvanātha and Vidyānātha. Hemacandra has also often quoted *in extenso* from old works which are now lost, like Bhaṭṭa Tauta's *Kāvyakautuka* and Lollaṭa's commentary of *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Sometimes he gives references to sources not available to us elsewhere. For example, the verse "*Lāvaṇyadraviṇavyayo...*" is cited by Ānandavardhana as a most likely composition of Dharmakīrti. Even Abhinavagupta does not

explain in his *Locana* regarding the exact work of Dharmakīrti in question. But Hemacandra tells us that it is from the concluding portion of *Viniścayaṽṛtti* by Dharmakīrti:-

Tathā cāyam viniścayaṽṛtṭyante

dharmakīrtiṽcāryasya śloka iti prasiddhiḥ /

(VI. under *Anyokti*)

In his treatment of *alaṅkaras* as well as *dhvani* he cites often new examples not found in Mammaṭa and Ānandavardhana.

The next Jaina writer deserving our notice is Vāgbhaṭa I (12th century A.D.). He follows in the main the older tradition of poetics, and like Nāgavarma brings about a synthesis between all the well known concepts viz. *guṇa*, *alaṅkāra*, *rīti* and *rasa*. His whole book is written in verse like the *Kāvyādarśa* and often the first line of his *śloka* forms the definition and the second line, its illustration. It was so famous as a convenient text-book that Mallinātha in his commentary over *Raghuvamśa* etc. has often referred to him. One speciality of the book is, however, the lengthy treatment of *Kaviśikṣā*.

Vāgbhaṭa II hailing from Mewar (also 12th century A.D.) has also called his work by the name *Kāvyānuśāsana*. But this work is a very short one when compared with Hemacandra's. It deals at length with *Kavisamayās* and *kaviśikṣā* exercises. One most interesting feature of the book is his illustrations of *Kāvyadoṣas*, all taken from popular *Mahākavis*. "*Dilīpa iti rājenduh induhḥṣīranidhāviva*" (*Raghuvamśa*) illustrates the defect *punarukta*; "*Mātsaryamutsārya vicārya kāryam*" (Bhartṛhari) illustrates *sandigdha*. He is aware of Ānandavardhana and refers to him for details about *dhvani*; yet he brings under *paryāyokta* all the varieties of *vastudhvani*. He even gives some examples not found in any other work, on *dhvani*. Its brevity is its chief merit.

The *Kāvyakalpalatāṽṛtti* by Arisimha (14th century A.D.) is an out and out work on *Kaviśikṣā* dealing with Sanskrit poetic composition as a mechanical craft which could be taught. Its four chapters are devoted to topics of *chandassiddhi*, *śabdasiddhi*, *śleṣasiddhi* and *artha-siddhi*. We get interesting details here of the tuition offered; e.g. practice of *Indravajrā* metre with one syllable:—

(1) *Kākā kakākā kakakā kakākā*

Kīkī kikīkī kikikī kikīkī /

Kūkū kukūkū kukukū kukūku

Kamkam kakamkam kakakam kakamkam / / (I.2.)

(2) a specimen of *samasyāpūraṇa*

Kastūri jāyate kasmāt

Ko hanti kariṇām kulām /

Kim kuryāt kātaro yuddhe

Mrgāt śimhah palāyate | |

The *Alaṅkāra-mahodadhī* of Maladhāri Narendraprabha produced in the court of Vastupāla is a comprehensive text-book on all aspects of Sanskrit poetics with copious standard illustrations. He sometimes adds to the varieties of well known concepts. For example, he gives for the first time the following new sub-varieties of *ṛtṭyanuprāsa*:- *Karṇāṭī*, *Kauntalī*, *Kaungī*, *Kaunkaṇī*, *Vānavāsikā*, *Trāvaṇī*, *Māthuri*, *Mātsī*, and *Māgadhi*.

The *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* by Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra is a standard work of dramaturgy. It gives a novel view of *rasa* that it is *sukha-duḥkhātmaka* and controverts the usual thesis that all *rasas* including *karuṇa* are *ānandātmaka*.

The *Alaṅkāracintāmaṇi* by Ajitasena (15th century A.D.) is a late work from an author hailing from South Kanara district of the present Mysore State. It is influenced very much by the *Pratāparudrīya* of Vidyānātha. Like the *Pratāparudrīya* all its examples are in praise of Bharata-cakravartī. It abounds in details relating to *citra-kāvya* varieties.

For further Jaina writers on Sanskrit poetics I should refer the interested scholars to a very informative article in Hindi by Pandit Amrutalal Shastri on Jaina Alaṅkāra Sāhitya published in the Acharya Bhikshu Smṛiti Grantha, Jaina Shvetāmbara Terpanthi Mahasabha, Calcutta, 1961, Vol. pp. 199 ff.

V

It will be seen even from the above brief survey how the Jaina contribution to Indian poetics is substantial qualitatively as well as quantitatively. They have not merely given compilations of earlier material. They have also added their own thoughts. It is only in this field that the Jaina contribution has succeeded in transcending the narrow boundaries of religion and becoming the common property of Indians at large.

JAINA CONTRIBUTION TO SANSKRIT ALAMKĀRĀŚĀSTRA

Dr. V.M. Kulkarni

The Jaina literature, sacred as well as secular is, indeed, vast and varied. It is in Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa and modern Indian Languages. Unfortunately, it has not received the full attention, it deserves, of scholars both from the East and the West. Like the Vedic Hindus and the Buddhists the Jainas have contributed to the different branches of knowledge such as grammar, poetics including drama-turgy, kośas, metrics, stories, ethics and religion and so on. The Jainas, especially the monks, devoted their whole life to learning, reading and writing and considerably enriched literature. This paper confines itself to their contribution to Sanskrit Alamkāraśāstra.

In *Aṇugaddārāṇi* (SK *Anuyogadvārāṇi*), one of the sacred works of the Jainas, we for the first time meet with the enumeration, definitions and illustrations of the nine *rasas* in poetry.¹ In this list of nine *Kāvya-rasas* the heroic (*vīra*) is mentioned *first*. On the basis of this, Prof. Warder² observes : “So the primacy of the heroic may have been an early contribution to aesthetics by the Jaina tradition.” In the course of his discussion of the problem—whether the *rasas* are nine or more or whether there is really only one *rasa*—he speaks of the Jaina school with reference to the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, the joint work of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra. The term Jaina tradition or school, when dealing with poetics, is quite irrelevant. There is nothing peculiarly Jaina about the theory of *rasa* as propounded by the joint Jaina authors. The *Abhinavabhāratī* records the view of the Sāṃkhyas who held that *rasa* is “*Sukha-duḥkḥātma*.” This view is elaborated by the joint Jaina authors. Again, Hemacandra, who himself was a devout Jaina, fully agrees with Abhinavagupta and reproduces his whole discussion about *rasa* when writing his *Kāvyaṇuśāsa*. “The primacy of the heroic” can hardly be looked upon as a “contribution to aesthetics by the Jaina

1. णव कव्वरसा पण्णत्ता तं जहा—
वीरो सिगारो अ-भुओ य रोहो य होइ बोध (? ढ) व्वो ।
बेलणओ वीभच्छो हासो कलुणो पसंतो य ॥

For their definitions and illustrations vide the text, pp.121-124 (Jaina Āgama-Series Vol. No. 1, Shri Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, Bombay-26, 1968)

2. Indian Kāvya Literature, Volume I (Ch. II), published by Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi-7, 1972.

tradition." All Jaina writers on poetics when enumerating the *rasas* commence their list with *Śṛṅgāra*.

We may now notice the works of Jaina authors in their chronological order:

The Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra of Vāgbhaṭa (1st half of the 12th century A.D.): Vāgbhaṭa is perhaps the first Jaina author to write a treatise on Sanskrit poetics. His work is divided into five *paricchedas* (Chapters) and it contains 260 verses. Most of these verses are in the *anuṣṭubh* metre. He treats of the same topics usually covered in a treatise on poetics. He speaks of four figures of word (*Citra*, *Vakrokti*, *Anuprāsa* and *Yamaka*) and thirty five figures of sense and two styles (*Vaidarbhī* and *Gauḍīyā*). The examples cited in the work are the author's own. The popularity of this work could be judged from the number of commentaries on it. No commentaries on Hemacandra's or Vāgbhaṭa's *Kāvyānuśāsana* are known. But the *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* is fortunate in this respect. De has recorded information about eight commentaries on this work. The commentaries of Simhadeva Gaṇī and Jinavardhana Sūri are better known.

*The Kāvyānuśāsana*¹ (KS) of Ācārya Hemacandra:

The *Kāvyānuśāsana* (with *Alaṃkāracūḍāmaṇi* and *Viveka*) of Ācārya Hemacandra (1089-1173 A.D.) is an excellent text-book lucidly setting forth various topics of *Alaṃkāra-śāstra*, very often in the very words of the authorities on *Alaṃkāra-śāstra* that preceded him and serves as a very good introduction to the study of the authoritative texts used by him. It is true that this work does not constitute an original contribution to the subject. But it is certainly unfair to Hemacandra to call his work a compilation exhibiting hardly any originality as Kane does or to charge him of plagiarism as De does. In fact, it would be only proper to compliment him for his supreme capacity to select choicest excerpts from his authorities and organise them into a homogeneous and organic whole. It is betraying poverty of imagination and scant respect for Hemacandra's intelligence to insinuate that Hemacandra pretended that all the passages which he quoted would pass as his own. Again, a close study of the KS reveals that Hemacandra shows independence of thought and judgment in good many places refusing to follow blindly his acknowledged authorities.² It is, however, incorrect to call Hemacandra's KS unique in that it brings for the first time

1. Second revised edition, published by Shri Mahāvira Jaina Vidyālaya, Bombay, 1964.
2. For a detailed treatment vide my paper "*The Sources of Hemacandra's Kāvyānuśāsana*" in the *Journal of The Oriental Institute*, Baroda.

poetics and dramatics within the compass of a single work. For it is not the first of its kind. Hemacandra takes the lead from Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* which treats of both poetics and dramatics. Again, it is to be remembered that Hemacandra's treatment of dramatics is scanty. It is probably for this reason that his two pupils Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra undertook writing their *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* which gives a comprehensive treatment of this science of dramatics.

The *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*¹ (ND) of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra (C 1125-1173 A.D.), is a very important work in Sanskrit dealing with the science of dramatics. Unfortunately it is less known but deserves to be known better. It treats of almost all the topics of dramaturgy which a playwright ought to know. The authors of the ND critically studied all the literature on dramaturgy that was available to them. They made full use of the works of their predecessors but whenever and wherever they disagreed, they boldly criticised them and set forth their own views. Their exposition of the theory of *rasa* (aesthetic experience) which markedly differs from that of his illustrious predecessors such as Abhinavagupta is noteworthy from this point of view. The ND notes anonymously the views of other authorities, some of which are no longer extant. It is rich in illustrations drawn from various plays of great merit, some of them are now lost to us. It is, therefore, valuable from the stand-point of literary history as well. Its long quotations proved of great help in reconstructing the lost play Devicandragupta. Its style is simple and lucid and exposition brief yet clear. It bears comparison with the Daśarūpaka of Dhanañjaya (with Dhanika's Avaloka), the most popular work on dramaturgy, nay, it surpasses it in many respects.

*Alaṅkāramahodadhī*² of Narendraprabha (1st quarter of the 13th century A.D.). This work on Sanskrit poetics was composed at the request of Vastupāla. It is divided into 8 *tarāṅgas* (Chapters). It contains 304 *Kārikās* and 982 illustrative stanzas. The author himself wrote a commentary on this his own work. He does not lay any claim to originality but frankly admits that it is a compilation based on the works of his predecessors in the field of poetics:

1. Its first edition appeared in GOS, Baroda, (Vol. 48) in 1927. Its revised second edition was published in the same series in 1959. Its Hindi translation (Hindi Nāṭyadarpaṇa) by Ācārya Viśveśvara was published from Delhi in 1961. A comprehensive and critical study of this work by Dr. K.H. Trivedi was published by L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9, in 1966.
2. Critically edited by L.B. Gandhi and published by Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1942.

नास्ति प्राच्यैरलङ्कारकारैराविष्कृतं न यत् ।

कृतिस्तु तद्वचः सारसङ्ग्रहव्यसनादियम् ॥¹

A study of this work shows that the work is primarily based on the works of his distinguished predecessors, for instance, Ānandavardhana, Kuntaka, Bhoja, Mammāṭa, Hemacandra and the like. It is, no doubt, an industrious and intelligent compilation and the treatment of the topics is at once lucid.

Śṛṅgārārṇavacandrikā of *Vijayavarṇī* (last quarter of the thirteenth century A.D.): The author composed this work at the request of king Kāmirāja of Bangawādī (Karnataka). It is divided into ten *paricchedas* (Chapters). Chapter I mainly deals with consequences ascribed to initial letters of any composition and to the metrical feet employed in it. Chapter II enumerates seven groups of poets and deals with fourfold sense and fourfold power of words. Chapter III treats of *rasa* and *bhāva*. Chapter IV gives a study of the types of hero and heroine and their friends, messengers and rivals. Chapter V treats of ten *guṇas*. Chapter VI makes a study of *rīti*. Chapter VII deals with *vṛtti*. Chapter VIII, which is the shortest of all, deals with the concepts of *śayyā* and *pāka*. Chapter IX, which is the longest of all, deals with the figures of sense. Lastly, chapter X treats of *doṣas* in a poetic composition and also of circumstances when they cease to be so. In the course of his exposition of various topics of poetics the author sings the glory of King Kāmirāja.

Vijayavarṇī generally follows the authorities on poetics (*Pūrvaśāstra* or *śāstra*). The author of *Alaṃkāra-saṅgraha* and this author for the first time introduce the topic of *Varṇa-phala* and *gaṇa-phala* in works on poetics. *Vijayavarṇī* has drawn on the *Kāvyaadarśa*, *Kāvyaālaṃkāra* (of Rudraṭa), the *Daśarūpaka*, the *Kāvyaaprakāśa* and the *Pratāparudrayaśo-bhūṣaṇa*. The verses, illustrative of various points of poetics, are his own. It has to be said, however, that their literary merit is not up to the mark.²

*The Kāvyaṇuśāsaṇa*³ of *Vāgbhaṭa II* (Circa 14th century A.D.). This work is divided into five *adhyāyas* (Chapters). The main part of the work is in the form of prose *sūtras* and the explanation and illustrations occur in the commentary called *Alaṃkāra-tilaka*. Chapter I

1. Introductory verse No. 21, p. 3.

2. For a detailed appreciation the reader is referred to my critical introduction to the edition of *Śṛṅgārārṇavacandrikā*, published by Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, 1969.

3. Published in the *Kāvya-mālā* series (43), 1951 together with his own commentary *Alaṃkāra-tilaka* on it.

treats of the purposes of poetry, the causes of poetry, the poetic conventions, definition of Kāvya, its divisions, definitions of *mahākāvya*, *ākhyāyikā*, *kathā*, *campū*, *rūpakas* and *geyas*. Chapter II deals with *doṣas* and *guṇas*. Chapter III defines 63 figures of sense. Chapter IV treats of figures of word. Chapter V dwells upon nine *rasas*, *nāyakas* and *nāyikās*, *Kāmāvasthās* and *rasa-doṣas*. Kane observes: "There is no originality in the work. He largely borrows from the Kāvya-māmsā of Rājaśekhara, the Kāvya-prakāśa and other works and quotes examples contained in other works."

When dealing with the present theme¹ it would be but proper to take note of the commentaries of some Jaina authors on works of Sanskrit poetics. Namisādhu (a Śvetāmbara Jaina) composed his commentary on Rudraṭa's Kāvya-ālamkāra in 1069 A.D. In writing this commentary he followed older commentators. His commentary is precise. He incorporates many quotations, in his commentary. His commentary is made use of by later writers and commentators on poetics. Āśādhara (circa 1240 A.D.) another Jaina author, also wrote a commentary on Rudraṭa.

Kalpalatā and its Pallava (and Viveka²) of Ambāprasāda (about 1136 A.D.): The text *Kalpalatā* and its *vṛtti pallava* are not extant. *Kalpalatā* and its *Svopajña* (auto) commentary *Pallava* are the composition of Ambāprasāda, who was, most probably, a Jaina. Whether *Viveka* was also composed by him or by some other author is not as yet, definitely known. Possibly this '*Viveka*' is the composition of a Jaina author. This *Viveka* commentary forms a supplement to the *Svopajña Pallava* commentary. Although it is a supplement and sub-

1. There are a few more Jaina works dealing with the theme of *Kavi-śikṣā* (Education of the poet) such as *Kaviśikṣā* of Jayamaṅgalā (1904-1143 A.D.), *Kaviśikṣā* of Ācārya Vinayacandra (about 1250 A.D.) and *Kāvya-kalpalatā* of Arisimha and Amaracandra (Middle of the 13th Century A.D.) but as they do not, strictly speaking, come directly under general poetics they are not noticed here. So too the *Alamkāra-darpaṇa* (whose author is not known), *Alamkāra-cintāmaṇi* and *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī* of Ajita-Sena, *Alamkāra-prabodha* of Amaracandra, *Akabarāsāhi-śṛṅgāra-darpaṇa* of Padmasundara are not noticed in this paper as they are not at hand. For this omission I crave the indulgence of scholars.

2. Published by L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9.

commentary it is highly important in many respects.¹ Māṇikya-candra Sūri's commentary on the *Kāvya-prakāśa* is highly important for a proper understanding of Mammaṭa's profound and terse treatise. It is called *Samketa*.² It was composed in 1159-60 A.D. Gunarat-nagaṇi (earlier than the second half of the 17th century A.D.) composed his commentary on the *Kāvya-prakāśa* and gave it the name *Sāradīpikā*.³ He has made use of some earlier commentaries on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. His *Sāradīpikā* is elaborate yet lucid and marked by freshness of approach. Siddhicandra-gaṇi wrote his critical exposition of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* in the second half of the 17th century A.D. He calls it by the name *Kāvya-prakāśa-Khaṇḍana*.⁴ It is a small but important treatise and contains a number of views of the *Navīnas* in regard to a number of points from the poetics.

The works on *Alaṃkāraśāstra*, composed by the Jaina authors, belong to the decadent age, as the age of really original writers was long gone by, and hardly add anything fresh to our knowledge. They could be aptly described as elementary text-books or excellent textbooks, convenient and well written compendiums which methodically register previous speculations on the subject of *alaṃkāra-śāstra*. The Jaina commentators, Namisādhū, Ambāprasāda(?), Māṇikya-candra, Siddhi-candra-gaṇi and Guṇaratna were very able, industrious and painstaking.

Although these Jaina authors and commentators do not *in a sense* contribute anything new to our knowledge, they do, in another sense, contribute to our knowledge in that they have preserved long paragraphs, passages and chapters from the original far-famed works they drew on such as *Bhāmaha-Vivaraṇa*, *Dhvanyāloka*, *Vakroktījīvita*, *Abhinavabhāratī* and *Locana* and help us in restoring many otherwise corrupt passages and recovering lost passages and chapters.



1. Vide my papers: (i) *Prākṛit Verses in the Kalpalatā-viveka* (Seminar in Prākṛit Studies, Poona); (ii) *Abhinavabhāratī* Ch VII Recovered. (JOI, Vol. XX. No. 3, March, 1971.); (iii) *Kalpalatā-viveka on Abhinavabhāratī* JOI, VOL. XXI, No. 4, June, 1972; (iv) *Fresh Light on Bhāmaha-Vivaraṇa* (Sambodhi).
2. Published in two editions: Ānandāśrama (Poona), and Mysore.
3. Dr. T.S. Nandi (Department of Sanskrit, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad) will soon bring out its critical edition.
4. Published in Singhi Jain Series (No. 40) by Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay-7, 1953.

JAIN CONTRIBUTION TO SANSKRIT POETRY

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It has been commonly admitted by many eminent scholars of the East and West that the Buddhists and the Jains—two non-Vedic Sections of the Society contributed a lot to the cultural heritage of India. "The Jains have rendered appreciable service to Sanskrit Literature by contributing their best to the different branches of knowledge such as grammar, rhetorics, dramaturgy vocabulary, metrics, erotics, art-architecture, mathematics, medicine, politics, ethics and religion etc."¹ Here, in this paper a modest attempt is made to trace some distinct contributions to the province of poetry and its offshoots. The Jain Saint-poets opened new vistas and newer dimensions in almost all the areas of poetic activities. The Purāṇas, the mahākāvyas, the laṅhucarita kāvyas, the message poems, the poetic prose and the poetics, campūs the panegyrics and allegorical compositions. In quantity and quality this contribution is significant.

The notable contribution of the Purāṇic compositions of the Jains is that, they retained various versions and recensions—differing in corresponding details, of the National epics and Brāhmaṇic Purāṇas. In the absence of the Jain Purāṇas these epics, more particularly their new forms might have gone to oblivion. The Jain Purāṇas add to the poetic grace also along with the mythological narrations of the old creations. The Jain Purāṇas are the source of all the subsequent movement of the Jain literature. The Jain Sanskrit writers established high academic tradition and illustrated missionary enthusiasm and devotion to poetic pursuits. Thus they evoked competitive spirit in their counterparts. They proved that religious spirit can be a perennial source of inspiration—not only for the poets but for the society at large. To improve their craftsmanship the Jain poets picked up the best specimens of classical styles and marched towards perfection. They almost exhausted their ingenuity in their attempt to surpass their model masters in pedantic hypocrisy also which is proved by the *Citrakāvyas*.

The Jain Sanskrit works are indispensable from the historical point of view also.² They help us in reconstructing the political, social and cultural history of India in middle ages. The *Yaśastilaka Campū*

1. Nāṭyadarpaṇa of Ramacandra-Guṇacandra by Dr. K.H. Trivedi. P. 305.
2. See-Sanskrit Sāhitya kā Itihāsa, Baldeva Upadhyaya p. 290.

of Somadeva is a glorious example to illustrate this fact. The historical epics of the Jains are also important because they provide clues to the broken links of history.

In divergent spheres of classical Sanskrit a distinguished literary prodigy generally appeared as a luminous meteor in the firmament casting less luminaries into insignificance or even oblivion. Bharata the authority on dramaturgy, Kālidāsa the allround genius, Bāṇa—the monarch of prose-writers and Śrī Harṣa, the physician of poets are some of the instances of this type of solitary towers of poetic eminence. After their appearance on the literary horizon succeeding centuries plunged into dense darkness and sank into insignificance, when notable literary activities remained almost suspended. Maxmuller propounded his theory of renaissance on account of such literary vacuum or void. But such is not the case with the Jain Sanskrit writers. The stream of their literary activities was not blocked or remained suspended on account of such super luminaries. They never retarded the progress of others. The monastic institutions of the Jains were the laboratories where the preceptor and his disciples—with the spirit of tolerance and accomodation, participated in common creative endeavours. Literary projects of many types were taken simultaneously and it was a moral binding on the disciples to complete the work if it was left by the preceding Ācārya. The various styles of classical Sanskrit which fell out of currency were regenerated and renovated by these saint-saviours of Jainology.

It is a pity that the classical Sanskritists did not co-operate and co-ordinate their efforts in this common academic endeavour. "It is very curious that prominent works of Jain literature exercised very little influence in any department of thought outside the spheres of Jain religious literature. They are ignored by non-Jain literati."¹ Such important contributions as *Yaśastilaka Campū* of Somadeva, *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla, *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Guṇacandra—Rāmacandra and *Upamitibhava-prapañca kathā* of Siddharṣi were the victims of such indifference and gross neglect. On the other hand, the Jain writers assiduously wrote valuable commentaries on prominent works of classical Sanskrit and thereby preserved and enriched the stock of human knowledge. Their critical works on poetics such as *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* and *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* explored new possibilities of development in literary criticism. N.D. of Guṇacandra—Rāmacandra is certainly a unique contribution of the Jain writers to the subject of dramaturgy.² Besides this, there are some minor avenues also where the Jain contri-

1. *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*—K.K. Handiqui, page 18.

2. *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*—Dr. K.H. Trivedi, page, 305.

bution is perceptible. The use of Prākṛit metres in Sanskrit verses is a novel experiment introduced by the Jain writers—right from Jinasena, the foremost Vyāsa of Jainology. A sample survey of this tendency can be made in Ādipurāṇa.¹ Later on, poets devoted full cantos as illustration of metres of popular and rare varieties.² Poet Amara-candra, in his *Bālabhārata* shows high degree of versatility in the use of Metres.³

Some of the original Prākṛit works have been rendered in Sanskrit by the Jain Sanskrit writers. This device might have been adopted partly because the saint-poet wanted to win appreciation from the recognised classical critics and partly to give a firm foundation to the fundamentals of Jain Faith.

The Jain writers did not follow the suit of a couple of classical patterns namely poems, based on pure Nature like *R̥ṣasaṃhāra* of Kālidāsa, and erotic lyrics like *Amaruśataka* and *Caurapañcāśikā*. The reason of this lacuna is not far to seek. The Jain religious code prohibited them from indulging in such licentiate latitude. It cannot be denied that they depicted amorous modes freely and fully in the body of the epics but invariably in relation to the sentiments of quietism leading to the relish of permanent peace which is the cherished goal of Jain discipline.

Making of a Jain Poet :

Ādipurāṇa of Jinasena lays down some principles for the poets.* 'They should be well versed in the dictum of Śāstras and should adhere to the styles of great poets. Possessed with intelligence they should compose such poems which should inculcate righteousness and virtue.' The Jain writers belonged to some prominent orders of Monks and were attached with some monastic centres. Mission, devotion and dedication were the key-note of their literary pursuits: "They were prolific writers of versatile genius and enriched almost every branch of Literature." Most of the writers were great politicians, philosophers, logicians, grammarians, historians and poets of high merits. They were masters of many languages: Sanskrit, Prākṛit Apabhraṃśa and the provincial dialects. Some prolific poets earned for themselves surnames as 'Tārṅika Cakravartī, Siddha Saraswatī, Vāḍibha-Pañcānana etc. These writers were patronised by the rulers of Gujarāt and the South. Some even acquired imperial status and became prime-ministers, commanders, Rājgurus and administrative officers. The

1. Ādipurāṇa—19th and 23rd Parvas.
2. Śreṇika Carita (Jinaprabhasūri) V Canto.
3. Winternitz—A History of Indian Lit. III-I page 81.
4. Ādipurāṇa—1.74.

main object of these writers was to propagate the Jain doctrines and faith as depicted in Mahāpurāṇas and illustrated by the life of Tīrthaṅkaras.¹ Many Jain saint poets while holding firm footing on their own sectarian ground, strived for a synthesis of Brahmin Culture. Some writers of mediocre merits ridiculed the Vedic-rituals, still they adhered to and advocated the traditional ethical values. They incorporated the conventional currents of subject-matter, descriptions, imageries and ornate poetic expressions belonging to classical Sanskrit Literature. This factor explains the parallelism of varied nature discernible in Jain-writings. They, in all humility declared that their main mission was to explain Jain religion.² These writers recorded chronology of contemporary rulers, Tīrthaṅkaras and Saints of the Schools to which they belonged, with the veracity of a historian. They were gifted with poetic genius coupled with critical insight—a combination of rare occurrence and so their writings are replete with universal appeal. 'The Jains naturally enough aimed at vying with classical epic.'³

These writers were the 'creators and custodians' of literary gems piled up in oceanic works of Purāṇas and great epics. Oratorical eloquence was regarded as the criteria of a good poet.⁴ "They are the real poets, they are clear sighted whose poetic muse becomes a medium of religious narration."⁵ In short it can be said that a Jain poet is not a person but an institution.

Distinct traits of Jain writings, especially the poetic works:—

The Jain literature is marked with merits of asceticism, glorification of Jain saints and patriots, propagation of the principles of Jainism and a high degree of poetic excellence. "Jainism stands for Ahimsā in conduct, Anekānta in thought, Syādvāda in speech and Aparigraha in social relations."⁶ In quantity and quality it can match favourably with any literature of this continent. Mythological epics i.e., Purāṇas form the foundation on which the successive literary structure is built. The Jain literature has a theological spirit pervading throughout and its main object is to propagate Jain doctrine and discipline which is embodied in three gems (precious principles) of spiritual life i.e., right faith, right knowledge and right conduct.⁷ Poetry has been a vehicle

1. Ādipurāṇa—1.99.

2. Padmapurāṇa—14.106.

3. A History of Sanskrit Lit. (Keith) p. 142.

4. Ādipurāṇa—p. 1.54.

5. Ibid 1.62.

6. Concept of Liberation in Indian Philosophy—A.K. Lad, p. 35.

7. Padmapurāṇa—1.1.

to transport and transmit the doctrines of Pañcavratā, Pañcāstikāya, Syādvāda, Jivājīva and Karma which at places is overburdened and marred with technical terminology. To a cultured critic some Jain poetic pieces may appear dull and dreary but to a devout they are a source of spiritual inspiration. 'It (the Jain Literature) disregards the system of caste and āśramas, its heroes are not Gods and Ṛṣis but kings, merchants and even śūdras. The subjects of poetry taken up are not Brāhmaṇic myths and legends but popular tales, fables and parables. It likes to insist on misery and sufferings of saṃsāra. It teaches morality of compassion and Ahimsā quite distinct from ethics of Brāhmaṇism,¹ Tranquility and devotion are the motivating moods of most of the works although they resort to the conventional emotions of erotics, heroism and pathos. 'Karma and the resultant birth cycle is the central theme ever present before the mind's eye of the poet-saints. The Jain Purāṇas proclaim that 'Jain is the best speech, the Jain penance is the highest austerity, Jainism is the best of religion (faith) and the Jain is the only par excellence.'² One of the earliest Purāṇic Kāvya 'Varāṅga Carita' says that its objective is to narrate religious stories full of four principal objects of human life. 'Kevala-jñāna', ultimate knowledge is the subject generally dealt with in the concluding portions of the Jain works. In short, the Jain poetic compositions are fascinating in spirit and charming in poetic craftsmanship.

One common characteristic in all the Jain Kāvya is the passion for supernatural element. They reveal full faith in all sorts of conventions—mythological, poetical or popular.

The Mahākāvya:

'A good poem should be ornamental, full of sentiments. It should be free from imitation and be a piece of rare beauty. The compact composition should have well set words having transparent meaning, worthy to be enjoyed through ears. It should be related to some Mahāpurāṇa and delineate the conduct of a noble dignitary. It should have a reference to the three objects of human life.'³ While examining the basic recommendations enumerated above, it appears that the earliest authorities of Jain Purāṇas had in mind the conventional criteria of classical Sanskrit poetics for Mahākāvya. Long before this,

1. The Jains in the History of Indian Literature—M. Winternitz p. 5. Edtd. by Muni Jinavijaya.
2. Padma Purāṇa—जैनमेवोत्तमं वाक्यं, जैनमेवोत्तमं तपः । जैन एव परो धर्मो जैन एव परं मतम् । 6.300.
3. Ādipurāṇa—1, 96–99.

Bhāmaha in his *Kāvya-lāṅkāra*¹ laid down similar conditions regarding the theme, hero, sentiments, and style. Some minor details of structure, sandhis, descriptions and division in cantos are enjoined in the *Kāvya-lāṅkāra* which are omitted in the Jain *Purāṇa*. Curiously enough the Jain *Purāṇas* represent that class of compositions which fulfils to an appreciable degree the conditions laid above. Sanskrit and Jain Poets both adopted these principles in their compositions with some variations suiting to their ideals. As centuries rolled on and the poetic products piled up in multitude, new elements were introduced by succeeding poeticians. Thus, Hemacandra defines a *Mahākāvya* thus :²

“छन्दो विशेषरचितं प्रायः संस्कृतादिभाषानिबद्धैः भिन्नान्त्यवृत्तैः यथासंख्यं सर्गादिभिर्निर्मितं सुश्लिष्टं संधिसुन्दरं शब्दार्थवैचित्र्योपेतं महाकाव्यम् ।”

Here the structural arrangement comprising of language, metre, cantos, sandhis is the same. The proper setting of ‘Śabdārtha’ is also in accordance to the conventional criteria ‘शब्दार्थौ काव्यम्’. It omits to mention ‘qualities and blemishes’ of poetry and substitutes it with ‘Vaicitrya’—uniqueness or rare peculiarities of ‘Śabda and Artha’ perhaps, after the theory of *Vakrokti* propounded by Kuntaka. He explains elaborately this element of uniqueness pertaining to word and sense. Some of the adjuncts of this śabda-vaicitrya are: elaboration, well knit incidents, benedictory beginning and end, proportion and balance, self introduction, conduct of good and bad persons, some cantos dealing with difficult *Citrakāvya*. The ‘artha-vaicitrya’ depends on the following factors: the fourfold objects of human existence, the dignified and exalted personalities, regular flow of emotions and sentiments, religious precepts of right and wrong, well fabrication of plot, decorative descriptions of numerous objects as cycle of seasons, cities, nature, sports etc. . . .

By analysing the subject dealt above, it appears that Hemacandra had all the peculiarities of Sanskrit *Kāvyas* in his mind. All the classical Sanskrit epics, Jain *Purāṇas* and Jain Sanskrit *Mahākāvyas* adhere to these injunctions faithfully. The Jain writers appear to be tenacious in following the precept of *Mahāpurāṇa* that a *Mahākāvya* should treat the nature of *Purāṇas*. This dependence on the *Purāṇic* lore did not find much favour with the classical Sanskrit poets. For these poets the *Purāṇas* remained the source of poetic inspiration. They followed the muse of Vyāsa, Vālmiki & Kālidāsa. This is the reason that Jain *Kāvyas* are obsessed with dogmatic details of *Purāṇic* matter. About Jain *Purāṇas* it should be noted that they were the precursors

1. 1.19–21.

2. *Kāvya-anuśāsana*—Chap. 8.

of Jain Mahākāvya. They served as popular media of mass contact. They are encyclopaedic in character dealing with every branch of human knowledge like classical Sanskrit Purāṇas. The Jain Sanskrit Purāṇas date their origin from the eighth century A.D. Since inception, they held immense hold on the minds of Jain community. But there appears an essential difference between these two sets. The 'Pañcalaxaṇī' Purāṇas of the Hindus primarily preoccupied themselves with extolling one of the members of Trimūrti, without caring for the artistic proportion and poetic standard. The Jain Purāṇas on the contrary maintained a high degree of balance between the subject matter and poetic excellence of style. The Brāhmaṇic-purāṇas are prosaic histories of genealogies full of drab and dull details of theology and theogony. The Jain Purāṇas are kāvya first and mythology afterwards. Their main object was to give life-sketches of the Jinendras, who were the rulers of Religious kingdom.¹ The Jain Purāṇas served as an ideal for later poets as regards the conception, theme and style. Practically all the Jain Mahākāvyas written in Sanskrit depict the life history of one of the sixty three Śalākāpuruṣas, who were regarded as symbols of 'Anantacatuṣṭaya'.²

The Jain Mahākāvyas appeared on the literary horizon along with Jain Purāṇas, with the result that the first Jain kāvya '*Varāṅgacarita*' of Jaṭānandī appears as a pocket edition of Purāṇa. It deals with multi-hero problems, minute details of Jain philosophy and religion. Like Aśvaghoṣa, Jaṭila makes his poem a regular platform for preaching the religious and didactic details.³ An atmosphere of austerity and renunciation pervades the poem. No traces of influence of Kālidāsa or Bhāravi are discernible in it, which afterwards became a fashion with Jain poets.

From 10th century onward, up to 14th Century A.D. a continuous current of Caritakāvyas flows in full force and vigour. The Jain Purāṇas serve as a great source of these kāvyas. The Caritakāvyas are the poetic biographies in which the mythological subjects are presented in a romantic setting. Religious consciousness and devotion are the source of inspiration. Idealism and realism are blended in a harmonious balance. *Candraprabha Carita* (Vīranandī), *Vardhamāna Carita*, and *Sāntināth Carita* (Asaga), *Pārśvanāth Carita* (Vādirāja) are important Carita Kāvya of 10th century which fulfil all the pre-requisites of Śāstriya Mahākāvyas and are crowned with a remarkable success. "*Pārśvanāth Carita* invests an atmosphere of religious awe

1. Ādipurāna—1, 16–20.
2. Infinite Knowledge, Faith, Bliss and Power.
3. Vārāṅgacarita—Edited by Prof. A. N. Upadhye. p. 29.

and grandeur to the figures of the hero.”¹ Subjects are mostly chosen from the Jain mythologies although some Caritakāvya like *Pradyumnacarita* and *Pāṇḍavacarita*² owe their allegiance to the Brāhmaṇic mythology. Historical figures like Kumārāpāla and Vastupāla have been selected for hero-worship. Analysis of different situations is done in proper perspective. Psychological conflict regarding duty or beauty in the minds of the main figures provides an additional charm to these poems. The delineations of various sentiments are done with fine poetic taste without reservations or religious restriction. The dominant mood, however, is invariably of peace and renunciation which concludes the compositions. The language of these kāvyas is simple, lucid, suggestive and sweet, with idiomatic and figurative expressions. Moral maxims and epigrams recur in natural sequence. The taste for pedantry is also seen cropping in the minds of these poets.

In classical Sanskrit, historical Mahākāvya are few and far between. Padmagupta (*Navasāhasāṅka-carita*), Bilhaṇa (*Vikram.*) and Kalhaṇa (*Rājatarāṅgiṇī*) are noteworthy writers in the classical field. The Jains played an important role in this branch. They were dispassionate and impartial observers and recorders of historical events. ‘Kumārāpāla-carita of Hemacandra Sūri depicts a correct and complete picture of political and cultural conditions of Gujrat in 12th Century.’ *Jagaḍūcarita* of Sarvānanda provides some historical evidences, though it is more of a kāvyā than history. *Bhūpālacarita* (Jayasingha) and *Hammīra kāvyā* (Nayacandra) are also important historical kāvyas which shed considerable light on historical events of fourteenth Century. Kāvya written on Vastupāla are also noteworthy in this respect. Hammīra Kāvya breaths discontent against the Mohamadans. Besides these kāvyas the Jains have written some panegyrics and inscriptions which provide valuable historical data.

There are some other varieties of Jain Kāvya called *Ekārtha Kāvya*s and *Laghukāvya*s. They are, in a way abridged editions of Mahākāvya. Their main object was to relate a sketchy story concerning the hero without much descriptive digression and diversion of events. These Kāvya were composed by celebrated ‘Bhattarakas the custodians of Jain culture and the monastic managers who were entrusted with the responsibility of looking after the proper functioning of various Jain institutions’.³ Most of these monks were of mediocre

1. Dr. Krishnamurti—Introduction to Yaśodharacarita, page. 40.

2. Pradyumnacarita of Mahāsena and Pāṇḍavacarita of Devaprabhāsūri.

3. Sanskrit Kāvya ke Vikāsa Meñ Jain Kaviyon kā Yogadāna—Dr. Nemicandra. P. 171.

poetic merits who lacked the required genius originality, deep study and practice. Religious theme—some didactic or moral story is the main area of interest, otherwise these short poems leave no intellectual impression on the minds of the readers. From 9th Century to the sixteenth, scores of such compositions came into existence. Among these writers 'Bhaṭṭāraka Sakalakīrti' of 15th century is regarded a very prolific and proficient writer who wrote eight such *Caritakāvyas*, which serve as moral treatises.¹ His poetic talents are praiseworthy. Some traditional poetic compositions of witty sayings or subhāṣitas have come down to us from the Jain poets. They serve as pocket books of practical ethics, promoting a consciousness of code of conduct. They are more of a secular nature than sectarian. They follow the pattern of Bhartṛhari's Śatakas. Amitagati (19th A.D.) is the eminent exponent in this field whose *subhāṣitaratnasandoha* and six other works are very famous. The Purāṇa poets were the precursors of this pattern also, as Guṇabhadra has composed 272 *Śikṣāpadas* as lessons of self-discipline. *Vairāgya Śatakam*, *Śṛṅgāra-Vairāgyataraṅgiṇī*, and *Pras-nottaramālā* are other works of this type. In these anthologies the thoughts are noble and the values of life very high while the style is simple proverbial and sweet. *Stotras*, hymns of praise or panegyric poems were very popular with the poets from the vedic times. Mature poetic muse had its birth from such divine songs. This type has a rich heritage in classical Sanskrit where a philosopher of Śaṅkarācārya's calibre took special interest in eulogising mother Goddess. These stotras were a part of propitiatory rites of a devotee. The Jain Saint poets adopted this style profusely in their Purāṇas. These prayers are prototypes of the pieces found in classical Purāṇas. In Ādipurāṇa some chapters are devoted to such prayers, where one thousand names have also been recited and devoted to the Jineśvara. The Jain Sanskrit literature is a rich store house of such prayer poems, numbering about 1000. The earliest specimens of this type are in prākṛit. Kundakunda (1, A.D.) has some gāthās to his credit. Samantabhadra has composed some poetic pieces which are replete with philosophy, devotion and spiritual idealism. Brevity is the soul of such poems. Mānatuṅga,² Bappabhaṭṭi³ and Hemacandra⁴ offered some memorable poems.⁵

1. Ibid. page 454.

2. Bhaktāmarastotra.

3. Saraswatīstotra.

4. Vitarāgastotra, Mahādeva and Mahāvīrastotra.

5. See Jain Stotra Sandoha—II Published from Ahmedabad.

The influence of classical Sanskrit poets like Kālidāsa, Māgha, Bhāravi and Sri Harṣa on the Jain poets:—

Kālidāsa, the monument of poetic perfection has made marvellous impression, practically on all the Jain poets, beginning from Jinasena. His Ādipurāṇa abounds in close affinities of subject-matter, details of descriptive object, rhetorical devices, treatment of Nature, conception of beauty, cultural values and elegant style.¹ Similarly Padma-purāṇa of Ravisena provides profuse examples of similarities to Kālidāsa.² The detailed charming description of Svayamvara and the ensuing fight correspond closely to that of Raghuvaṁśa in 6th and 7th cantos. Poetic and popular conventions also bear close resemblance. Specific instances cannot be given for want of space & time. Candraprabhacarita 10.20 employs the same idea and image as in Kumārasambhava 1.12 where Himālaya has offered a shelter to the darkness,³ in almost the same figures of fancy and corroboration. These Jain poets, in spite of religious restrictions have at places dived even deeper than their master—Kālidāsa, and have enjoyed the erotic sports either openly & directly depicting conjugal dalliance or indirectly superimposing these on Nature.⁴ Verbal excellences of expression pertaining to alliteration, repetition, equivocal puns, or portraits of many varieties are exhibited profusely and meticulously by the Jain poets. Some of these devices cover even cantos.⁵ To conclude, it appears that from centuries past, the ocean of Kālidāsa literature has been openly inviting the cosmopolitan community of poets to collect as many jewels as they like. It is confident that its diamond-deposits will remain inexhaustible; real '*Ratnākara*' as it is. As regards the influence of Bhāravi, Māgha and Śrī Harṣa on scores of Jain Sanskrit poets it seems sufficient to indicate that this topic has been elaborately and critically discussed by eminent scholars.⁶ in their research

1. A. P. 14.9 and Ks 7.20; AP 9.62— U. Megha—3; A. P. 15.216 A. S—6.6; A. P. 23.18—UM—135. AP 15.149 and K. S. 1.1; AP—21.117—119 and R. V. 10.23—33.
2. P. P. 6.368—420 and R. v. 6—12 to 85 and 7.35—70; P. P 10.101 and K. s. 3.22.
3. Other illustrations—Cc 4.6 and K. s.—1.43; C. c. 8.58 and A. S. 6.19; C. C. 1.13 and RS. 2.5.
4. See Naranārāyaṇānanda—6.57 and 5—3 and 29, 30 ślokas.
5. Compare—Raghuvaṁśa—9th Canto and Neminiṛvāṇa (Vāgbhaṭa)—6th Canto.
6. See : (a) Dr. Nemi Candra Sastri—'Sanskrit Kāvya ke Vikāsa meṇ Jain Kaviyeṇ Kā Yogadāna.
(b) Dr. S. S. Dixit—Terahavīn Caudahavīṇ Śatābdi ke Jain Sanskrit Mahākāvya.

publications. From this, it is evident that the magic effect of these poets has sunk so deep into the minds and hearts of Jain writers that they could not escape the overwhelming influence of this trio of Sanskrit poets.

The Dūta Kāvya:—

Sending message to the counterpart in separation has been a universal craving of human heart. All the talented poets—from vedic times onwards, have put their genius to test in meeting this demand. The poets in return have been profusely rewarded with eternal fame. 'Love lyrics were not only cultured early in India but also they had developed a high degree of skill and poetic merit.'¹ Dr. Winternitz also opines that oldest love song certainly must not have been composed in Sanskrit but in popular languages. This is why, a greater part of Indian lyric poetry belongs to Prākṛit literature.² Kālidāsa employed his graceful poetic muse for this purpose. His Meghadūta is a lyrical gem creating magic effect on successive generations of poets. Apart from emotional and poetic excellence, these Dūtakāvyas in toto, present a correct geographical and topographical details of the Indian Continent. Natural scenes pulsating with human feelings and emotions are wilfully presented. Sweet memories of past, present agony of separation breathing love, secrecy and confidence in hopeful future make such a colourful emotional texture which allures every sensitive reader. Kālidāsa's short lyric—with rich play of imagination, melody of metre, lucid language, tender emotions and striking ideas served a progenitive nucleus around which a beautiful grove has grown in succeeding centuries. Till present day, the poetic passion to imitate and emulate this style persists unabated. According to Dr. Satyavrata³ more than fifty Dūtakāvyas have come into light which have been modelled after Meghadūta, out of which eight have been contributed by the Jain poets.

The Jain poets, right from Jinasena onward were so much fascinated and charmed that they adopted the same name, theme, conception, metre, treatment and imagery to serve their professed ends. The messenger in person may differ but the message is one and the same. This spiritual urge could not desist them from imitating but even obliged them to adopt verbatim the lines of verses of Meghadūta 'to be interwoven as part of their own verses' to make the symmetrical

1. A History of Sanskrit Lit. Vol. III, Part I—Winternitz. p. p. 107.
2. Ibid—page 107.
3. Essays on Indology, Dr. Satyavrata.

‘*Samasyāpūrti*.’ The Jain poets wanted to exploit the popularity of Meghadūta to make a fervent appeal to their followers about Jain religion and doctrine. Poetic charm became a sugarcoated and sedative medium to propagate the ideas of Jain Saints and Tīrthaṅkaras. Thus, these message-poems are pregnant with didactic maxims, and moral preachings. It is a great ingenuity of Jain writers to employ an old expression in different context to suggest and convey a sense of their choice. Lack of originality is lost sight of and a new utilitarian aspect of art appears to hold its sway over their minds.

The earliest stylist reproduction of the Meghadūta is *Pārśvābhyudaya* of Jinasena which is reckoned as a refined and chiselled specimen of lyrics.¹

But here also at places artistic subtlety and transparency is substituted by rewards and retributions in rebirths resulting in dull and drab descriptions. *Nemidūta* works out a unique synthesis of Vipralambha and Śāntarasa. *Meghadūta* of Merutuṅga betrays the decaying tendency of pedantry and verbose obscurity. The Jain poets have proved their integrity by sincerely acknowledging the debt they owe to Kālidāsa. Some poets even conclude their poems as—इति मेघदूत-छायाकाव्यं समाप्तम् or काव्यं व्यधायि परिवेष्टितमेघदूतम्, as in *Pārśvābhyudaya*.

The Sandhāna-Kāvya :

It can be regarded as a unique invention of Indian mind to handle different tales simultaneously in one and the same poem employing common phraseology. Herein, is revealed the magic power of Sanskrit language, which possesses oceanic vocabulary. In Sandhāna Kāvya formal structure requires high ingenuity and versatility of the poet in using multimeaning proper names, attributes, compound phrases and common epithets. Such device of double entendre has won admiration even at the hands of cultured critics of the west. “A *tour de force*” of this kind is doubtless unique in the literature of the world. Kavirāja has however found imitators in India.² Kavirāja, who

1. See some observations thus :

- (a) The author has proved his vivid imagination to be superior to that of Kālidāsa. (M. G. Kothari—*Pārśvābhyudaya*, p. 107).
- (b) This poetic gem is next to none in Sanskrit literature and in Jain literature also it occupies a high place. (Dr. R. K. Ācārya—*Sanskrit ke Sandeśa-Kāvya*, p. 184).

2. A History of Sanskrit Lit. (Macdonell) p. 279; Winternitz. 1, p. 107.

flourished in 12th A.D. picked up this style and composed a kāvya, Rāghavapāṇḍavīyam which simultaneously narrates both the stories of National Epics. By taking resort to separable compounds and punning expressions the poet realised his ambition. Common descriptions, events, incidents and natural scenes do not require double interpretation. Kavirāja falls in line with Subandhu and Bāṇabhaṭṭa in this art of 'double entendre and twisted expression.' The poet himself provides the chemical formula resulting in such magic effect.¹ Subtle surgery of syllables with sabhaṅga and abhaṅga Śleṣa makes marvels.

This style must have been in vogue long before Kavirāja though he attained new heights. Authentic references reveal that Daṇḍī also has a dvisandhānakāvya to his credit. After Vāsudeva Hiṇḍī, Dhanañjaya is the foremost Jain innovator of this poetic style who won laurels from eminent Jain poets, critics and anthologists.² His creative period is the middle of ninth century A.D., as accepted by majority of scholars. "The D.S. of Dhanañjaya is one of the earliest available and important D.S. poem in Sanskrit literature. It is a significant illustration of the richness and interpretative potentiality of Sanskrit language."³ Dhanañjaya, the versatile genius took up the theme belonging to Indian classical literature, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. His masterly treatment of the subject with perfect poetical skill proves that he fathomed the depth of Brāhmaṇic mythology and epics. Without any hitch he has incorporated the poetic and popular conventions⁴ adopted by classical poets like Kālidāsa. He is also unique in all ingenious forms of poetic composition reverberation of words i. e., Citrakāvya.⁵ 'His poem is complimented as a monument of poetic excellence'⁶ Hemachandra the lexicographer and grammarian composed his famous bilingual *Dvyāśraya Kāvya* a poetic text book of grammar. This scholarly taste was taken to the extreme by some poets where each verse can be interpreted in seven ways to suit different context. Most of the monastic poets chose their themes from the life of the Tirthaṅkaras and composed kāvyas in this style to provide a short cut to the Jain devotees to pay homage to many spiritual gurus

1. See Rāghava Pāṇḍavīyam—1.37, 38, 39. and 8.45.

2. Jalhan's Sūktimuktāvalī, 87.

3. Dvisandhāna Mahākāvya—(K. S. Gorwala) Editorial p. 17.

4. Compare the description of D. S. 8. 37-50 with that of Raghavaṅśa 7.5-12 and Kumārasambhava-7-58-62.

5. D. S. 8.1-30.

6. D. S. Mahākāvya : Bhāratiya Jñāṇa Pīṭha, Ed. 10.

simultaneously. Surācārya wrote his *Nemicarita*. The Jain Sanskrit writers heartily collaborated with their counterparts and tried to surpass them as it is evident from *Saptasandhāna Kāvya* of Meghavijaya, where seven munis, including Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are chosen for simultaneous narration. This is a case where Jain writers attempted to create a confluence where cultural crosscurrents meet to make it a pilgrimage centre. This spirit also accounts for the incorporation of Brāhmaṇic Deities like Rāma and Kṛṣṇa in Jain mythology. This poet, Meghavijaya also composed two kāvyas as '*Samasyāpūrti*' to some cantos of Śiśupālavadha and Naiṣadhīyacaritam, which proves the magic potentiality of Sanskrit language. Somaprabhācārya reached the highest degree of variable interpretations.¹ His Śātārthakāvya is a monument of this type.

*Prose Tales, Romances, Dramas, Dramatics and Campū Kāvya*s:—

A comprehensive contribution is perceptible in these minor areas also. A bird's eye view will suffice to throw some light. *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla is a regular image of Kādambarī and every occasion of note in Kādambarī finds a parallel here. *Gadyacintāmaṇi* of Vādi-bhaṣiṃha is highly merited for its ethical import. '*Upamitibhavaprapāñcakathā*' of Siddharṣi is an allegorical romance of an early period (9th A.D.). Dramatic works appear to gain favour with the Jains. Rāmacandra, a favourite disciple of Polymath Hemacandra is accredited with about hundred works including some dramas. Hastimalla is the only dramatist of good repute whose four dramas have been published,² few others are awaiting their turn. The '*dramatis personae*' of these plays betray the hybrid nature of Hindu Jain mythology. Sarcastic and farcical comedies, though few, are also met with.³ The Jain play-wrights are few and far between. It proves that the Jains like the Bauddhas did not encourage their followers to cultivate a taste for such relishing feast of eyes, which might detract them from the spiritual path. Similar paucity prevails in the field of poetics. Hemacandra wrote his poetics—*Kāvyañuśāsāna* while his worthy disciple—Rāma Candra (joined by Guṇacandra) wrote a memorable 'mirror of dramatic technique', the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*. This treatise contains a rich mine of rare references of Sanskrit works, presumably lost. A couple

1. History of Classical Sanskrit Literature—M. Krishnamacharya p. 193.

2. Māṇikya Jain Granthamālā.

3. See Dhūrtākhyāna of Haribhadra Sūri (Ed. by Jinavijayamuni).

of allegorical plays have come to us where abstract morals play their role in person to stage the victory of virtue over vice, following the foot-prints of '*Prabodha-candrodaya*'. Some works of Campū type also invite our attention. The *Yaśastilaka Campū* of Somadeva ranks supreme as a rare literary feat—and a custodian of culture of India of 10th Century.

The *Jivandhara Campū* of Haricandra is another work enjoying popularity. '*Prabandha Kāvya*' in prose is a novel literary variety resorted to, by the Jain writers where semi-historical, semi-fanciful biographical data are recorded. The central figures are kings, saints, pioneers of progress and patriots, who participate in curious anecdotes and share their experience. The *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga is regarded as a landmark of such types. Finally, didactic tales, created by the Jains cast their spell over the newly initiated entrants. A voluminous mass of such material exists in the Jain Sanskrit literature.

This resume of salient features of literary works in Sanskrit reveals its immensity of contribution to the classical Sanskrit literature in almost every branch of poetic art. This Jain literature has well stood the test of time, in all vicissitudes of political, social and cultural spheres. Its artistic standard seldom suffered a setback on account of huge quantum. It can be safely inferred that religion and philosophy remained basic incentive and inspiration for this immense Sanskrit literature.

The limited scope and space of this paper does not permit to enumerate all the distinguished works contributed by the Jain Sanskrit writers. Only one or two representative writings have been dealt with to take note of some special traits of contribution in every branch of literary style. The Jain Sanskrit writers evoked a community of taste and interest by adopting similar modes. They created a healthy spirit of competition and academic rivalry which are main spring of literary advancement. They catered to the needs of diversified sections of society and created a forum for better understanding and accommodation and thereby established Jainology on firm footing. They saved the oral traditions and various versions of the Purāṇas from being destroyed. They left a rich intellectual legacy in the form of Kāvyaas which has been continuously enriched by their worthy successors. Intellectually well equipped, they explored different dimensions with a keen spirit of enquiry and inquisitiveness which profusely rewarded them. Some of their masterminds of encyclopaedic calibre, like Somadeva, Hemacandra, Rāmacandra and Merutuṅga played a remarkable role in preserving valuable source material from which a comprehensive cultural history of India can be reconstructed in correct perspective. Attempts are a foot in this direction.

It may not be out of context to see the rusty reverse of the coin. Some common charges levied against the Jain writers and their compositions are: that their poetic pieces are miserably obsessed with Jain religious dogmas; that their themes are stereotyped, stale and concentric; that their poetic craft is sophisticated; their conservatism restrains the spontaneous outburst of emotions. It is also said that the Jain poets are plagiarists, imitators and copyists. The popular proverb that 'poet is born not made' is a misnomer in the context of the Jains. This is why here pure 'Nature poetry' is a desideratum.

But to my mind, the Judgement is not balanced, because the Jain writers had their own recognised criteria of poetic mission. It is also an admitted fact that religious art is concomitant to conservatism. Proper assessment of achievement of these Jain Sanskrit poets can be made if we judge them in proper perspective.

The genius of Jain writers was all-pervasive, leaving no facet, form or genre of literature untouched, ennobling it with the spirit of saintliness and thus extending and illuminating the horizons of classical Sanskrit literature. Any study of Sanskrit classics will remain, therefore, incomplete without a deep involvement with the massive Jain Literature in Sanskrit.

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CONTRIBUTION OF APABHRAṂŚA TO INDIAN LANGUAGES.

Dr. Devendra Kumar Shastri

It is an established fact that Apabhraṁśa was the common dialect used in various regions in Ancient India. Prākṛit was the general source of Apabhraṁśa which was current among the common people. Prākṛit is the general term, under which are comprised the various dialects which appear to have arisen in India out of the corruption of the Saṁskṛit, during several centuries immediately preceding our Era. The word "Prākṛit" as used by the grammarians, signifies "derived", thereby to denote its connexion with the original Saṁskṛit; thus Hemacandra defines it: "प्रकृतिः संस्कृतं तत्र भवं ततः आगतं वा प्राकृतम् ।" But it may originally mean "Common", "Unrefined", as in the line in the Mahābhārata, where it is said the Brahmins must not be despised, "दुर्वेदा वा सुवेदा वा प्रकृतिः संस्कृतिः तथा ।"¹

The Conception of Prakṛti

In vedic texts the term Prakṛiti is also regularly used for the word-isolate in contradistinction to vikāra (modification, variant), the latter being applied to the junction-forms. There are so many words used in R̥K-Prātiśākhya i.e. 'Saṁhitā padapṛakṛitiḥ' and 'padapṛakṛitiḥ' where the meaning of 'pṛakṛitiḥ' is obviously basis.² Prakṛti or Prākṛit especially refers to the natural languages or common speech of people. Broadly speaking, Prākṛit is a generic term; it covers half a dozen dialects (including Apabhraṁśa); and its literature has been enriched by Jaina, Brāhmaṇic and Buddhist authors in different parts of India. The Apabhraṁśa is one important Prākṛit; it inherits a good deal of Prākṛit vocabulary; but has developed some new features which are parallel to and fore-runners of the New Indo-Aryan all over India. Prākṛit as religiously and regionally has a wider canvas as compared with Pāli. Further, as contrasted with Pāli, Prākṛit contains a good sprinkling of nouns and roots which are called Deśi: they are un-Saṁskṛitic in origin, and many of them are derived from Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic sources.

1. E. B. Cowell : Short Introduction to the Ordinary Prākṛit of the Saṁskṛit Dramas, London, 1875. P. 5-6.
2. W. Sidney Allen : Phonetics in Ancient India, O. U. P. 1965, PP 10 ff.

What is Apabhraṃśa?

Apabhraṃśa is not the corrupt form of Saṃskṛit as regarded by some grammarians in the words: “प्रकृतिः संस्कृतं, तत्रभव प्राकृतमुच्यते” । As opposed to this view there is another theory held by Dr. Bhandārkar, Dr. Guṇe, Sir Grierson, Wackernagel and other European scholars who say that the literary Prākṛits have come down to us, through inscriptional Prākṛits, from vedic provincial dialects which they call the old or primary Prākṛits (2000 B.C. to 500 B.C.), which existed even before the vedic times or at least side by side with the language of the Vedas and the priests. The terms ‘Vedic’ or ‘Saṃskṛit’, ‘Prākṛit’ and ‘Bhāṣā’ may be used as short and convenient, though rather loose, terms for the three periods of Indo-Aryan; and the transitional stage between “Prākṛit” and ‘Bhāṣā’ properly forming a part of the Prākṛit or Middle Indo-Aryan period, can be conveniently called “Apabhraṃśa”.¹ In other words within the old Indo-Aryan itself we have three main branches: the different strata of vedic Saṃskṛit, the vernaculars of the vedic Indian and Classical Saṃskṛit of the vernaculars of the vedic period. We may only see traces in the so-called Prākṛitisations found in the vedic language, such as sūreduhitā, l for r in śithirā-śithilā: śratha-śr̥th-, ch for ps in kṛchhrā-kṛpsrā-from kṛpate, jy for dy in the word for jyotiḥ-dyotate.² The phonetic systems of nearly all the New Indo-Aryan languages are descended directly from the vedic speech, to some extent that is preserved in R̥gveda also.

Jules Bloch refers to Apabhraṃśa-Its original sense is something “aberrant”. Patañjali applies it to certain forms of old Middle Indian, in common use in the Saṃskṛit of this time, but from his point of view is incorrect.³ Thus, Apabhraṃśa means a colloquial dialect underlying any of the literary Prākṛits between the fifth and eleventh centuries.

Apabhraṃśa, in the widest sense of the term is indicative of any language that in any manner deviates from the correct one-i.e. Saṃskṛit. Consequently it is the common name for all the Indian popular dialects, and only remotely it signifies particular form of the Prākṛit dialects that were remodelled from the popular dialects to the status of literary languages according to the usual practice that obtained in Prākṛit.⁴

1. Dr. Suniti kumar Chatterji : The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Calcutta, 1926, PP 17.
2. S. M. Katre : Some Problems of Historical Linguistics in Indo-Aryan, Poona, 1965, PP. 25.
3. Indo-Aryan, Paris, 1965, P. 21.
4. R. Pischel : Comparative Grammar of the Prākṛit Languages, trans. by Subhadra Jha, second edition, 1965, P. 31.

It is clear from above that according to George Grierson and his followers, the Apabhraṁśas were the real vernaculars which derived their grammatical forms and structures from the spoken Prākṛits, of which the dramatic Prākṛits of the second Middle Indo-Aryan were of some literary forms, and themselves were the sources of the frameworks of the modern Aryan speeches. It should be said accordingly to the same group of scholars, the literarisation of Apabhraṁśa took place in the sixth century A.D..¹ On the Vārtika "सर्वदेशान्तरे" Patañjali says, "If we do not find a particular root or word conveying particular meaning in a particular region, we should try to find the meaning in other regions also. Because we find some words conveying different meanings in different regions." (Mahābhāṣya 1.9-10).

Actually Apabhraṁśa was used as the primary dialect in early vedic period in the form of Prākṛit. Thus, we get this clear view that the dialects are not deviations from classical and accepted modern standard, but all have a history stretching right back through the centuries. In other words, the English dialects include the modern standard dialect which for cultural, political and geographical reasons has become the accepted standard to-day. The same process took place in the case of Saṁskṛit, which was an artificially perfected literary language. The natural dialects were known as Prākṛits, and as these Prākṛits developed literatures of their own, even they became influenced by the literary Saṁskṛit. In fact, the grammarians of the day developed special rules for turning Saṁskṛit into Prākṛit, so that the real Prākṛit tended to be lost to the written language and the literary Prākṛit became a definite mutilation of Saṁskṛit.² Apart from this there are so many evidences which prove that in the oldest stage Prākṛit was the vedic speech. In the words of Prof. L. Alsdorf "Even in the veda there are words, which bear unmistakable evidences of the Prākṛit influence, so far as the phonological changes are concerned."³ One of the basic characters of Prākṛit prevailed over the period of vedas which were composed, as Sandhi between Padānta and Padādi in the Rksamhitā, as is well known, is due to the manipulation of the text by later redactors, the metrical evidence clearly showing that in the original text no Sandhi was allowed in such position. But at least in two cases we have ungrammatical Prākṛitic Sandhi between Padānta and Padādi.* In

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1. Cf. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXX, No. 3. Sept. 1954 PP 245-263.
 2. Cf. "A Linguistics Reader" ed. by Graham Wilson, New York, 1967, PP 87. ff.
 3. Cf. JOI, Vol. X, No. 2 Dec. 1960, P. 133.
 4. Indian Linguistics, Vol. IX, Pt. 1.

fact, the Śikṣā (शिक्षा) recommends the pronunciation of स्वरभक्ति as 'a', (vowel), which represents a geographical area to which Ardhamāgadhī belonged.¹ The Apabhraṃśa was current in the north-western region as well as in eastern region. Purāṇās refer to dialects which are popularly known as Apabhraṃśa in different provinces and are divided into many dialects to be known from persons who know these provinces thoroughly.² It is signified that 'Prākṛitalakṣaṇa' occurred in Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa, but it does not expressly mention double consonants. In Ashokan Prākṛit too double consonants are absent. It is the primary character of Apabhraṃśa that appears in the fifth century A.D. when we have epigraphic evidence of the existence of Apabhraṃśa.

During the first few centuries, at all events prior to the fifth century A.D. Pālita (Pādalīpta) wrote a religious novel in Prākṛit.³ In 'Kuvālayamālā kahā' written by Pādalīpta in Prākṛit Alferd Master finds some verses parallel to the Apabhraṃśa.⁴ Therefore, about the fifth century A.D. Samskr̥it and Prākṛit were equally stereotyped as literary forms of expression, and once more an effort was made to raise then popular speech to a literary stage, represented by Apabhraṃśa.⁵ The earlier Hindi had a strong admixture of the Apabhraṃśa Prākṛit, but the Vrajabhāṣā form soon attained preponderance even before the time of Sūradāsa⁶ (Hindi Poet).

Middle Indo-Aryan stratum

It has become the usual practice to divide the history of the Indo-Aryan languages into the three stages. The Middle Indo-Aryan group consists of four stages called:- (i) early stage: 600 B.C.-200 A.D. (Ashokan Prākṛit and Pālī as type), (ii) transitional stage: 200 B.C.-200 A.D. (the Prākṛit of the earlier inscriptions), (iii) second middle Indo-Aryan stage: 200 A.D.-600 A.D. (dramatic Prākṛit, used in Samskr̥it dramas, (iv) third middle Indo-Aryan stage (Apabhraṃśa): 600 A.D.-1000 A.D. After 1000 A.D. in the New Indo-Aryan stages are found the different Apabhraṃśa dialects.

1. Siddheswar Verma : The Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians, 1961, P. 50.
2. Cf. Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa, 7.11.
3. M. Winternitz : A History of Indian Literature, Vol. II revised, 1933, P. 478.
4. Cf. B. So AS, Vol XIII, Part 4, P. 137.
5. Joseph T. Shipley (edt.) : Encyclopaedia of Literature, Vol. I, New York, 1946, P. 481.
6. Ibid, ff P. 521.

The Middle Indo-Aryan stratum is important for its tendencies of phonetic decay and contraction. What Hindī, Gujarātī, Rajasthānī and Panjābī, like many other New Indo-Aryan languages, have not preserved the Indo-Aryan stock, was in fact, lost in the Middle Indo-Aryan stage. The phonetic system of Apabhramśa differs from that of classical Samskrit and it is also admitted that it was dialectically independent. The accent-system respectively corresponds to the local dialects even to-day.

Influence of Prākṛit on Samskrit

The influence of Prākṛit dialects is quite possible on Samskrit as pointed here as follows: "Concerning the arguments showing grammatical irregularities, it is to be observed that they are better explained on the supposition that they are due to the influence of popular speech which accounts for their quasi-Prākṛitisms, than by supporting that Prākṛit originals have been deliberately translated into Samskrit. Influence of Prākṛitic tendency is found even in vedic texts, which naturally persisted in later ritual texts, epics and the Purāṇas. Irregularities regarding the use of numerals find their counterparts even in pre-classical Samskrit texts.¹ We shall try to understand the relationship between such words. They are the direct descendants of a dialect, which was spoken in Ancient India, side by side with the vedic dialects, with which it was very closely related.² There are so many words which are found in the Vedas, but which originally belong to Prākṛit dialects. For example, the word 'सत्य' is derived from 'सत्' abundantly used in RK-Samhitā, but for 'सत्यासत्य' we find 'सच्चासच्च' (RK. 7. 104.12), and like that Samskrit words 'मारिष', 'इंगाल', and 'मैरेय' are actually Prākṛit words: Māriṣa, Inṅāl, Miar, like this meha, vahū, vanka, titau, dadha, maranda, khidakkīā, etc. are frequently used in Samhitā texts.³

Deśya Words

There are many Deśya words in Prākṛit which are found neither in classical nor in Vedic Samskrit, but they were taken from the various provincial dialects of Vedic times i.e. from the primary Prākṛits. Of course, some scholars have tried to trace these Deśya words to certain words in classical or Vedic Samskrit by calling them tadbhava (तद्भव),

1. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar : Were the Purāṇas Originally in Prākṛit ? Acharya Dhruva Smāraka Grantha, Pt. III, P. 103.
2. Dr. P. D. Gune : An Introduction to Comparative Philology, 1962, P. 196.
3. Cf. Introduction of Pāli-Sadda-Mahārṇava, second edition, 1963, P. 57-58.

but in fact there is hardly any similarity between the two. A very substantial part of the New Indo-Aryan vocabulary is known to be of Deśya origin and it has inherited many Middle Indo-Aryan Deśya words and expressions. It is not possible to understand Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa fully well without a proper knowledge of Deśya words and expressions. Apabhraṃśa literature is rich due to these Deśya words which are also found exclusively in Tamil, Kannada, Malayalam, Bengala, Marathī, Sindhī and Panjabī etc. The attempt has been made to study Deśya words from Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta¹, but still there is a lot of material available in unpublished texts of Apabhraṃśa. Some Deśya words are given here: Ujjada (ruin, H. उजाड़, Mewarī उज्जड़), Dhandha (useless, Mewarī ढंढ ruined), Mera (boundary, Mewarī Merā मर्यादा, Kannada मेरे), Uttemta (Unruly उच्छृखल), Umināḍa (overflow, H. उमड़ना), Onchha (dressing, Bundelī ऊँछना), Kaṇṇola (a bowl, Marwarī कचोला), Kappa (tax, Kannada Kappu), Kalama (thief), Khattika (butcher, Bundeli, H. खटीक), Khalla (leather, H. खाल), Kera (order), Naitta (sail-merchant, Awadhī नाइत्त), Gowara (Cow-dung, H. गोबर), Unda (deep, H. ओंड़ा, Mewarī ऊंडाल), Dhora (animal, H. ढोर), camakk-to walk, cf. Koṭkani 'Camkta (walks), Rāli-a quarrel, cf. old Gujarātī-'rād', Konkani 'rāli', Tuppa-butter, ghee, cf. Marāthī 'tūp', Kannada 'tuppa'-clarified butter, cilla-the tamarind, cf. Kannada 'Cilla', Ta. Te. 'cille' the clearing nut tree, etc.

As pointed out by A.M. Ghatage usually assimilation of all kinds of conjunct consonants along with a few other changes, is considered the most characteristic feature of the Middle Indo-Aryan by which it is distinguished from the Old-Indo-Aryan stage.² The testimony of the inscriptions is *instructive* in showing that the Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa were popular dialects and mainly Brāhmī script is found in the Prakṛit inscriptions. The Jain inscriptions of Mathurā are almost pure Prākṛit which *prevails* down to the first century A.D.³ Macdonell remarks clearly that these Mediaeval Prākṛits are important in connection with Saṃskṛit literature, as they are the vernaculars employed by the uneducated classes in the Saṃskṛit drama. They are the sources of all the Aryan languages of Modern India. From the Apabhraṃśa are derived Sindhī, eastern Panjābī and Kāshmirī; from Saurasenī come eastern Panjābī and Hindī (the old Avantē), as well as Gujarātī,

1. Dr (Mrs.) Ratna Shriyan : A Study of Deśya Words from the Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta.

2. A. M. Ghatage : Historical Linguistics and Indo-Aryan Languages, PP 112.

3. Arthur A. Macdonell : A History of Saṃskṛit Literature, fifth edition. 1958, Delhi, P.-26.

while from the two forms of Māgadhi are descended Marāthī on the one hand and the various dialects of Bengal on the other.¹ According to Dr. S.K. Chatterji Māgadhi Prākṛit gave rise to four Apabhraṃśa dialect groups, viz. Raḍha, Vaṅga, Vārendra and Kāmrūpa; and from the dialect group of Kāmrūpa developed the language of North Bengal and Āssām. In early times, the language of North Bengal and Āssām constituted a single dialect group. The earliest literary specimen, however, is available in the mystic dohās of the Buddhist Siddhācāryas, later known as the caryās. The language of the dohās is the late Apabhraṃśa and therefore represents the formative period of the New Indo-Aryan languages. Some of the features both phonological and morphological have been identified as typically Āssamese and carried over through the centuries up to the present day language. The earliest literary work available so far, which may be claimed as distinctly Āssamese is the 'Prahlaḍa-carita' written by Hema Sarasvatī in the later half of the thirteenth century A.D. The language of this small poem seems to have been still nurtured in the cradle of its Apabhraṃśa mother.² The 'Dākārṇava' a Buddhist tantra poetry also depicts the later Apabhraṃśa tendency and similarly it represents Sauraseni Apabhraṃśa. The deaspiration of some aspirated words and consequently the aspiration of deaspirated words show East Bengal tendency: e.g. मोअ-मोह; बोअन-बोहन-बोधन; पउ-पहु-प्रभु; पहु-पड-पद;

रम रम परम महासुहु वज्जु, पज्जोपायइ सिज्जउ कज्जु ।

लोयप्पयरुणा भावहु तुम्म, सअल सुरासुर बुज्जउ जिम्म ॥ etc.³

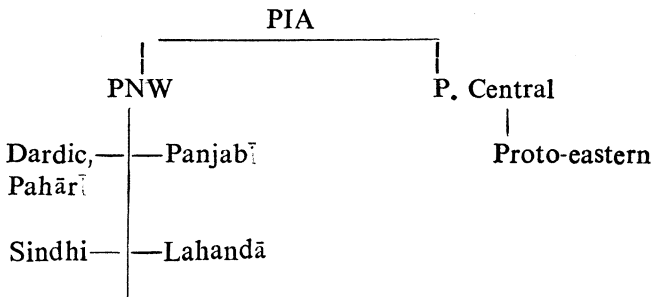
the languages of 'Dākārṇava' is quite similar to Apabhraṃśa of the western vernaculars which thus took rise, Braja bhāṣā may be said to be the true descendant of Sauraseni Apabhraṃśa, as it is the most representative of all the dialects of Western Hindī. As opposed to vernacular Hindustan and Bangaru, both-'ā' dialects, it is mainly-'au' dialect, a characteristic which it developed from -o endings of Śaurasen Prakṛit left in hiatus after the *elision* of inter-vocal stops. In Kanauj and Bundel, the other dialects of Western Hindi, the *au* shortened to 0. Rajasthan also goes with Kanauj and Bundel. But vernacular Hindustān and Bangaru agree with Panjab in having their strong

1. Ibid, PP-27.

2. B. Kakati : Assamese, Its Formation and Development, second revised edition, 1962, Gauhati, P. 14-15.

3. Dr. Nagendranārāyaṇa Choudhari (edt.)-Dākārṇava, 1935, Calcutta, P. 19.

masculine substantives, adjectives and participles ending in ā.¹ But all these distinctions are found in Apabhraṃśa from early times. In Kālidāsa's Vikramorvaśīya Samskr̥t drama, in Acharya Kundkunda's Pāhuda dohās, Kuvalayamālā kahā and in other inscriptions it appears quite distinctly. P.B. Pandit concludes: On the whole, the uniformity of Apabhraṃśa in the medieval period can only be matched by the uniformity of Samskr̥t in the earlier period. Take for example the geminates in the sonant series in Middle-Indo-Aryan literature and New Indo-Aryan languages; it is customary to say that -l-l- and -l-l- and -nn- and -nn- and -n-n- and -n-n- in those New-Indo-Aryan languages which display a contrast between n-n and l-l; the very nature of these changes, gives a clear interval chronology viz. the single sonant must have become a flap, and then only the *geminate* could have become single sonant.² Actually we can find out three reconstructing stages of Proto form, as (i) Proto-Indo-Aryan, (ii) Proto-North-West, and (iii) Proto central. There are five Proto-forms-(i) nya, (ii) una, (iii) ṇa, (iv) nda, and (v) na, for example Kanya-Kaṇṇa -kaṇa -kanda and -kāṇa. It is not possible to derive the 'ṇna' from single 'na', therefore we may reconstruct the intermediate stages to decide the actual forms chronologically as shown here :—



Panjabī still possesses double nasal, i.e. 'kanna', that shows the Prākṛit tendency was current in earlier stages. In Kannada 'Sadbamaṇidar-pana' 'Keśiraja' under the heading of 'Apabhraṃśa-Prakaraṇa' we find so many Deśya words frequently used. They are as:—

Tiṇa, Singāra, muttikā, muddiga, Sakkaya, Ingalaya, dandu, Sr̥, Pauma, Sasi, rāsi, Dosa, Jatana, Janna, Jogi, Pavva, dhamma, Kajja, Pakha, khira, Acchi, Niĉca, rajja, vijja, jara, etc.

In his research paper 'Applicability of the rule of Prākṛit grammar to the formation of Marāṭhī words' Dr. N.A. Deshpānde concludes

1. Vidyā Bhāskar Arun : A Comparative Phonology of Hindi and Panjabi 1961, Introduction, P. XVI.
2. Indian Linguistics, Silver Jubley Volume, 1966, Poona, P. 2.

that many of the rules applicable to the formation of Prākṛit words can also be very well applied to the formation of Marāṭhī words. The Prākṛits and the later Indian languages like Marāṭhī, which owe a majority of their words to them (i.e. to the Prākṛits) reveal similar tendencies in the formation of their words. Every Marāṭhī word is not necessarily derived from the Prākṛits (from Saṃskṛit); yet, many of the Marāṭhī words derived directly from Saṃskṛit words can also be derived by the application of the rules used for the derivation (or formation) of Prākṛit words from Saṃskṛit words. It is not the particular case of Marāṭhī, but it also happens with old Hindī. Dr. Vasudeva S. Agrawal was confronted with the problem of discovering the meaning of hundreds of old-Hindī words which do not exist in Hindī dictionaries. Then he realised that the knowledge of Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa is an ambrosia for understanding not only the old-Hindī literature in old-Rajasthānī, old-Gujarātī, old-Marāṭhī, old-Bengali, Old-Maithilī etc., but also in fact, for all the languages of the Middle Indo-Aryan group. In the earlier days the Śauraseni Apabhraṃśa had spread their influence over the original Indo-Aryan-dialects spoken in Rājputānā and Gujarātī; and the literary dialect of the old western Hindī period, 'Avahatta' or 'Piṅgala', was much cultivated by the bards of Rājasthān as 'Diṅgala' or the local Rājasthānī dialects especially Mārwarī; as are used at the present day. Like Apabhraṃśa in Brijā also by aiding suffix 'i' performs the postpositional past participle; as, Ja + i = Jāi. The same process occurs in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. In Tamil we find Tung + i = Tungi (being slept), in Telugu Chādav + i = Chādavi (being read), in Kannada Tīn + i = Tīni (being eaten) and in Malayalam Po(ya) + i = Poyi (being gone) constructs the same as it occurs in Apabhraṃśa.

Actually it is not possible to give all the words which are found in various languages of India, as there are about two hundred languages in our country. For example a list is given here that clearly shows the Prākṛitic influence on Indian languages.

Apabhraṃśa- Hindī- Panjābī- Urdū- Sindhī- Marāṭhī- Gujarātī- Bengālī- Oriyā.

1. Galla (throat)-Galā-Gala-Gala-Gallo-Gaḷa-Galu-Gala-Kannada-Gantalu.
2. Poṭṭa (stomach)-Peṭa-Peṭ-Peṭa-Peṭu-Poṭ-Peṭa-Peṭa-Peṭa. Nepali-Peṭ, O. Marwarī, Peṭa.
3. Haḍḍa (bone)-Haḍḍi-Haḍḍi-Haḍḍi-Haḍḍo-Haḍa-Haḍḍakun-Lahanda haḍ, WP Haḍḍ, Ku. N. Hār, B. Hār, Bhoj-Hār, Haḍḍa-Haḍ-Assammia-Hār.
4. Naspai (pear)-Nāspatī-Naspahi-Naspati-Naspati-Naspati-Naspati-Naspati-Naspeti.

5. Bahedaya (nut of Bellenic myrobalan)-Baheda-Baheda-Beheda-Bahero-Behda-Baheda-Beyada-Bahada.
6. Čaula (boiled rice)-Čavala-Čavala-Čavanara-Bhata-Bhata-Bhata-Malayalama-Čauru.
7. Takkariya (vegetable)-Tarkari-Tarkau-Kashmiri-Taṛkatr-Bengala-Tarkari-Kannada-Tarkari.
8. Makhaṇa (butter)-Mākhaṇa-Makhana-Makhaṇu-Loṇi-Mākhaṇa-Makhana Lohuṇi-Aṣṣamese-Makhana.
9. Čakkalai-Čaklā-Čaklā-Kashmiri Čaklu-Marathi Čaklo-Bengali-Čaklo.
10. Thaṇa (udder)-thaṇa-Kashmiri-than-Sindhi-thaṇu-Gujarati-thānā
11. Kundria (Olibanum)-Kundru-Kundru-Kundru-Oriya Kunduri.
12. Vāimṅana (Brinjal)-Verṅgaṇa-Beṅgaṇa-Vainnu-Vaiṅgane-Rengua-Ku. baiṇan, N. Baigan, Bi. baigan, OG Vaimṅana.
13. Ultaru (north)-Ultara-Shumala-Uttaru-Ultaru-Ultara-Ultara-Ultara-Assamia Ultara. Telugu Ultaramu, Kannada ultaran.
14. Čoru (thief)-Čora-čora-Kashmiri-coor-Čoru-Čora-Čora-Čora-Čora-Assamia Čora.
15. Pāṇia(Water)-Pāṇī-Pāṇī-Pāṇī-Pāṇī-Pāṇī-Pāṇī-Pāṇī-Pāṇī-Assamia-Pāṇī.
16. Vaddala (Cloud)-Bādala-Baddala-Bādala.
17. Ghoda (Horse)-Ghoḍā-Ghoḍā-Ghoḍā-Ghoḍā-Ghoḍo-Ghoḍa-Ghoḍo-Ghoḍā-Ghoḍā.
18. Baladda (bull)-Bela; Balada-Bela.
19. Vaghāra (spice burst)-Vaghāra-Taḍkā-Bhagāra-Raī-Phodaṇī-Vaghāra-phodaṇa-Baghāra-Kannada-Vaggarane. (in boliingoil)
20. Hathiyāru (Weapon)-Hathiyāra-Hathiyāra-Hathiyāra-Hathiyāra-Hatyara-Shastra-Astra-Hatiyara.
21. Khaṭṭika (butcher)-Khaṭṭika-Marathi-Khaṭṭika.
22. Kumbhāru (potter)-Kumhāra-Kumhāra-Kumhāra-Kumbhāru-Kumbhāra-Kumbhāra-Kumora-Kumhāra-Assamia Kumāra-Telugu Kummari; Kannada-Kumbāra.
23. Kavaṇu (Who)-Kauana-Kaṇ-Merathi-Kaṇ-Gujarātī-Kaṇ, Assamia-Kaṇ.
24. Fikka (pale)-Fīka-Fikkā-Fīkā-Fiko-Fikkat-Fiko-x-Fikkā.
25. Jhagaḍa (quarrel)-Jhagaḍā-Ghagrā-Jhagrā-Jhagiṛo-Jhagro-Jhagaḍā-Jhagrā-Jhagrā-Ku. Jhagrō-, W.P. Jhagarua, N. Jhagrā-P. Jhagrā.

26. Bappa (father)-Bāp-Bāp-Bāp-Bāpa-Bāp-Bāp-Bāp-Bāp-Bāpa-L-Bāpū, N. Bāp, Aw. lakh, Bāp, Gaw. Tor Bāp.
27. Ghāśa (gross)-Pa. Pkt. Ghāśa-H.G.M. Ghās-Ku. N. Ghās-K. Gāsa.
28. Challa (bark)-Pa. Pkt. Challi-Ku. Chāl-N, Chāli-B. Chāl-or, Chāla Bi. Chāl-Bhoj Chāl-G. chāl-M. Sāl.
29. Chaṇa (made of dung)-L. Chāṇā-P. Chāṇā-G. Chāṇ-Chhatisgarhi-Chenā-Tamil-Chāṇi.
30. Phulla-Pa. Pkt. Phulla-S. Phulu-L. Phull-P. Phull.W. Pali-Phull, Ku. Phūl, N. Phul, A. Phul-B. Phul-Bi. Bhoj. Aw Lakh. H. Phūl-O Marw. Phūla, G. Phūl, M. Phūl Ko. Phūla.

Hence there is in Indian languages at the present day an Indian character which forms one of the bases of that "Certain underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to cape Commorian," "that general Indian personality" which has been admitted even by Sir Herbert Risley, otherwise so sceptical about India's claim to be considered as one People".¹ For all practical purposes, we have 15 literary languages—Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Panjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu in the Indian subcontinent, which have numerical, political, commercial and cultural importance. Excepting Nepali and Sindhi all are specialised in the constitution. Urdu and Sindhi are Indo-Pak languages and Tamil is an Indo-Ceylonese language.²

In the words of Prof. Dr. Jozef Delek, Deptt. of Indology University of Ghent, Belgium 'Although the learned world is interested in Middle Indo-Aryan languages and literature has been growing during the last few decades, both in India and abroad, one sometimes gets the impression that studies in this field still somehow seem to be' 'Cornered' by the deservedly immense prestige of the Samskr̥it culture. On the other hand modern science equally attaches great importance to the modern Indian languages and letters. A 'Corner-stone', nevertheless, always is a key-stone, i.e. an indispensable support of the whole building. That is why one regrets to ascertain that not all the centres of Indological Studies have yet fully realised this fact, that the truly scientific study of modern Indian languages and even that of Samskr̥it, I dare say, is altogether unthinkable without a proper knowledge of the Prākṛits.

1. SunitiKumar Chatterji : Languages and the Linguistic Problem. P. 6.

2. Amal Sarkar : Hand Book of Languages and Dialects of India, 1964, P. XII.

CONTRIBUTION OF PRĀKRITS AND APABHRAMŚA (Ap.)
IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN
INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES.

Dr. K.K. Sharma

A careful study of Prakrit languages is a must for tracing out the lexicon and morphology of modern Indo-Aryan languages. As far as the lexicon of modern Indo-Aryan languages is concerned, a large part of words are common to them all. John Beames rightly observes that in all the modern Indo-Aryan languages, with slight modifications, *ho*=be; *kar*=do; *ā*=come; *jā*=go; *khā*=eat; *pī*=drink; *mar*=die; *mār*=strike; *sun*=hear; *dekh*=see; and among nouns a still larger part is found with only minor differences in each member of the group. This shows that the lexicon of modern Indo-Aryan languages has been built up from the similar sources. These sources are the Prakrit languages spoken by the general mass of India in the middle Indo-Aryan period.

From this point of view the materials of modern Indo-Aryan may be put under three heads:—

1. Sanskritic
2. Material which is Aryan but not Sanskritic, and
3. Material which is different from the above two categories.

It is now a well-known fact that local dialects in India were anterior to Sanskrit, later on they were contemporary with Sanskrit. A large part of modern Indo-Aryan lexicon comes from these dialects which were contemporary with Sanskrit and generally known as Prakrits. The Prakrit material in modern Indo-Aryan languages is "Aryan but not Sanskritic." This material is mainly responsible for the development of modern Indo-Aryan languages.

Prakrit languages have been regarded as the media of expression of general masses. Prakrit grammarians inform us about numerous Prakrits and generally they were named after the province where they were spoken. Prakrit works are also of various nature. We find several kinds of Prakrits in Sanskrit dramas. Māgdhī Prakrit of those days has been preserved for us in the religious works of the Buddha and his followers. Jains have chosen Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit to express their philosophy of life etc. Besides this, we have *laukika* literature,

like *Gāthā Saptasatī*. In order to study the growth of modern Indo-Aryan languages one has to go through the vast Prakrit literature.

Lexicon of modern Indo-Aryan languages is generally divided into *Tatsama*, *Tadbhava*, and *Deśaja*.

Tatsamas are exact Sanskrit words used in modern Indo-Aryan languages, each as *darśana*, *rājā*, *ravi* etc. The only change is that in modern Indo-Aryan languages the case-gender suffixed to these words, such as *-ah* of masculine and *-am* of neuter, have been dropped. We find this tendency starting right from Prakrits. In fact *tatsamas* are the Sanskrit words which have been accepted with elision of particular case and gender morphemes.

“*Tadbhavas* are those words which, though evidently derived from Sanskrit, have been considerably changed in the process, though not so much so as to obscure their origin.” For example: Hindi *āṅkha* from Sanskrit *akṣi*; *koila* from Sanskrit *kokila* etc. I beg to differ from this conception of *Tadbhavas*. On the one hand it is said that Sanskrit was not intended for the people and it was not to be endured that the holy language, offspring of the gods, should be defiled by issuing from plebian lips; it kept its place apart as the appropriate speech of pure Brahmins and mighty kings. On the other hand *Tadbhavas* are considered as derived from Sanskrit. I think the words accepted as *Tadbhavas* are the words spoken by general mass. General people had never derived them from Sanskrit. Because Sanskrit has sprung from the dialects as literary language. So there was a clear phonemic relation between the form of the words used by general mass and in the form accepted in Sanskrit. Thus *Tadbhavas* are those words in which a definite phonemic difference corresponding to Sanskrit word can be observed.

So, it is clear that there were distinct phonemic differences in Sanskrit and Prakrit words. As scholars have maintained this process of change has been from Sanskrit to prakrit. I feel it is difficult to admit this hypothesis. Let us take two words *ḍākina* (Sk.) and *ḍāina* (Prk). It is said that middle /k/ of Sanskrit word has been elisioned in Prakrit *ḍāina*. I would like to put it as under; in Sanskrit the word is *dākina*, in Prakrit it is *ḍāina* and these are two separately existing words, one used by Sanskrit-knowing persons, and the other by the common masses. Also we can say that the difference between these two words is of middle phoneme /k/. The pronunciation of sonorous ‘i’ is easier than the pronunciation of vocal consonant ‘k’. Because the common mass accepts the easier way so the words with easy pronunciation are used by it. A list of phonemic differences between the two sets of words (Sk. and Prk) has been provided in Prakrit grammars.

Deśajas are the words whose Sanskrit equivalents are not found. The words were used by the general mass. They are not, as has been said by Beames, borrowed from aborigines of the country or invented by the Aryans in post-Sanskritic period. Because many of the *deśajas* have been found in the Veda, so it will not be correct to accept the creation of these words in post-Sanskritic period. The words like *pagadī*, *ḍāba donḡā* are of this nature. Hemchandra defines these words as—

जे लखणे ण सिद्धा ण पसिद्धा सक्कयाहिहाणेषु ।
 ण य गउणलक्खणसत्तिसंभवा ते इह णिवद्धा ॥
 देसविसपसिद्धीइ भण्णमाणा अणन्तया हुन्ति ।
 तम्हा अणाइपाइअपयट्टभासाविसेसओ देसी ॥

In modern Indo-Aryan languages specially in their literary form, the so called *Tadbhavas* are being used in their Sanskrit form and *deśajas* in their original form. In Hemchandra's Ap. grammar a long list of *ādeśa sūtras* is found. A few of those *sūtras* are given here;

१. सर्वस्य साही वा ॥३६६॥
 अपभ्रंशे सर्वशब्दस्य साह इत्यादेशो भवति
२. कपः काइं कवणो वा ॥३६७॥
 अपभ्रंशे कपः स्थाने काइं कवण इत्यादेशौ भवतः
३. युष्मदः सो तुहुं ॥३६८॥
 अपभ्रंशे युष्मदः सौ परे तुहुं इत्यादेशो भवति
४. जस्-शसोस्तुम्हे तुम्हइं ॥३६९॥
 अपभ्रंशे युष्मदो जसि शसि च प्रत्येकं तुम्हे तुम्हइं इत्यादेशौ भवतः
५. जस्-शसोरम्हे अम्हइं ॥३७०॥
 अपभ्रंशे अस्मदो जसि शसि च परे प्रत्येकम् अम्हे अम्हइं इत्यादेशौ भवतः
६. वत्स्यति-स्यस्य सः
७. क्रियः कीसु
 क्रिय इत्येतस्य क्रियापदस्यापभ्रंशे कीसु इत्यादेशो भवति
८. मोज्जुनासिको वो वा ॥३७१॥

These *ādeśa sūtras* clearly show that in Ap. words such as *sāho* were in use. '*Sāho*' etc., were the actual words used by general mass. The pronunciation of these words was easier than that of the corresponding Sanskrit words. To speak cerebral *r* in *trṇa* is difficult. Naturally, general mass used to pronounce it as '*r*'. Thus there was a large number of *Deśajas* in Prakrit and Ap. which have come to modern Indo-Aryan languages.

That is why in modern Indo-Aryan languages we have certain strata of lexicon; strata of words coming down from Prakrits and Ap.; strata of words revived from Sanskrit at the time of reaction against Buddhism. In general, it can be said that the proportion of *Tatsamas* is greatest in Bengali, Oriya and Marathi. It is less in Hindi and Gujrati and the least in Panjabi and Sindhi. In Hindi there are more *Tabdhavas*. Besides these *Tadbhavas* a long list of Prakrit (*Deśajas*) words prevalent in modern Indo-Aryan languages can be prepared. The following list shows some of them:

Prakrit words.

Modern Indo-Aryan Languages

ऊडा	ऊण्डा
छोयर	छोकरा
जोय	जोवू
मडय	मडु
	Rajasthani
घाघरं	घाघरा
घउ, घाव	घाप
वहिणी	वेण वैण
	Oriya
अग्नि	अगी
अप्पण	आपणा
कुआर	कुआर
राज	राय
	Marathi
कच्छोट्ट	कछोट्टा
छेलि	सेली
भुक्क	भुँकणे
माउच्छिय	माउसी
मेला	मेला
मेहुण	मेवणा
रंगावलि	रांगेली
वाउल्ल	बाहुली
	Hindi
अराडी	राड
कोइला	कोयला

कोलहुक्क	कोल्हू
खडक्की	खिड़की
खेलण	खिलौना
गड्डा	गड्ढा
घट्टो	घाट
चाउला	चावल
तग्गं	तागा
पत्तल	पतला
पाणियहारी	पनिहारन
पोच्चड़	पोचा
बद्दल	बादल
बिच्छु	बिच्छू
भल्ल	भला
सुज्झ	सूझ
हल्लइ	हिलना
रोलं	रोला
	Punjabi
सत्त	सत्त
अट्ठ	अट्ठ
कम्म	कम्म
गड्डी	गड्डी
अद्दा	अद्दा

A comparison of words given above will show that the minor phonemic changes crept in over a period of time.

For the historical developmental study of the morphology of modern Indo-Aryan languages also, again one has to look in the morphological strata of middle Indo-Aryan languages. A few points are being given below.

Stem formation system

In Prākritis the consonant in the final position falls off. Naturally, there are no consonantal declensions. Its numerous remnants are found only in stems in 't', 'n' 'ś' and 's'.

Vipādā = *Viva ā* (M)

Dharmavidah = *Dhammavio* (Amg).

In all the dialects the usual form in the Mascun. nom. acc. plu. is that in—o. e.g.

mahilā = *Mahilaho*

Kalāḥ = *Kaiao*

In verses—o interchanges with—u e.g.

dhanyās tah = *Dhaṇṇāu tāu*

Some times both the forms are found side by side. Nom. acc. in —a is seldom seen, e.g.

rekhāḥ = *rehā, rehāu, rehāo*.

In Ap. the unsuffixed stem is used as the nom. acc. gen. sing. and plu. and in others too as-a stems. This is the case in other Prakrits also. In Amo. Prakrit we have—*Buddhaputta* for *Buddhaputto*, *Pāvaya* for *Pāvayo*. It has been pointed out that 'ah' arising from 'as' becomes 'o' except in nom. sing. of the —a stem in Amg. mg. and in certain adverbs in Amg. where it becomes 'e'. In Ap. 'o' from 'ah' becomes 'u', e.g. *Janah Janu*.

As is observed two separate sets of stems developed out of the stem ending in 'a'. The first ended in u in all the languages some time up to the fourteenth century. Since then it has regained 'a' ending but in Sindhi the termination still remains—'u'. In old Hindi and Marathi this u is well traceable. We find *Sariru*, *Vīrū*, *kapārū* in Tulsidas. In modern Hindi they have again become *Sarira vira kapāra* etc. The second ended in 'o'. In old Hindi it seems to be pronounced as 'au'. Sindhi has 'u' uniformly, Gujarati retains 'u' now and then, other modern indo-Aryan languages have 'a'. Final short 'a' is not pronounced in Hindi, Panjabi, Marathi or Gujarati. It is slightly pronounced in Bengali and Oriya. In Rajasthani we have nom. sign. mas. in—o and plural in ā, e.g. *ghoḍo*, *ghoḍā*, *coro* and *corā*.

As Ap. used suffixless stem in nom. sig so does Hindi also. In Oriya the case morphemes, though not detached, do not affect the stem. Bengali is similar to Oriya in its treatment of stem. In Hindi all nouns ending in a consonant remain unchanged, though nouns in-a change. Gujarati manifests a number of peculiarities in stem formations.

Gender

In modern Indo-Aryan only Marathi and Gujrati have three genders. Sindhi, Panjabi, Hindi have two genders only. According

to Beames Bengali and Oriya have no gender at all. But it would be more proper to say that theoretically in Bengali three genders of Sanskrit survive. But one does not find genders in nouns, pronouns or adjectives in practice. Adjectives have no genders, save in the instances of a few Sanskrit *Tatsamas*.

It can be seen that the violations in traditional gender system started in Prakrits themselves, i.e. the gender of Sanskrit has not always been preserved in Prakrits. In all the dialects the neuter in —as has become masculine, except in the nom. sing of the—a stem in Amg. and Mg. and in certain adverbs in Amg; where it becomes 'e', 'ah' arising from—as becomes 'e'.

Like the neuter nouns in—as, many neuter nouns in—a have dialectically become masculine in Prakrits. Examples of this tendency are numerous in Amg. Prakrit. It is frequent in Mg. too. Vararuci says that neuter in—an became masculine in —a, e.g. *Karman* = *Kammo*, *Janman* = *Jammo*

Words formed due to this tendency are found fairly in modern Indo-Aryan languages, as is evident from 'Phal', Gṛha etc. e.i. Sanskrit neuters in—am have become masculine in modern Indo-Aryan languages.

In Ap. the gender has been more flexible. Hemacandra says :
लिंगमन्तत्रम्

Number

In Prakrits dual forms in noun etc, with the exceptions of the numerals *dvau*=do, *dve*=de, were not existing. In the place of the dual form plural was used both in noun and verb. This could also be combined even with the numeral for two e.g. *dvijihva*=*dojiha*

hastau thartharāyate=*hatthā thartharanti*

This type of construction can be seen in modern Hindi also.

(i) *do hātha kāṇpate hain* (ii) *hātha kāṇpate hain*.

In the above example we see numeral for two combined with plural in both noun and verb. Vararuchi has clearly told us—

dvivacanasya bahuvacanam

In modern Indo-Aryan languages we have this system. It can be safely said that this system has come from Prakrits.

Pronouns.

In all the modern Indo-Aryan languages the personal pronouns show a close affinity with those used in Prakrits. Oriya preserves

the Prakrit form in plural as regards the spelling *amhe*, but its pronunciation is 'ambhe'. Bengali *āmi* appears to be a softening of *amhe*. In Hindi it has undergone metathesis.

Thus we see that one has to take the help of Prakrits in order to study the lexicon and morphology of modern Indo-Aryan languages, and it is in Jain scriptures that Prakrit literature has been preserved for us.



MOHAPARĀJAYA: A JAIN ALLEGORICAL PLAY

Dr. (Mrs.) Usha Satyavrat

The play *Mohaparājaya* is written by Yaśapāla. It consists of five Acts. It describes the defeat of Moha at the hands of king Kumārapāla and the effects of his conversion to Jainism by his revered preceptor Hemacandra. The *Sūtradhāra* mentions in the prologue that this play was enacted on the festival of the consecration of the image of Lord Śiva in the temple of Kumāravihāra, for the purpose of delighting the people. The first and the foremost aim of the author in composing this play is the propagation of Jainism.

Yaśapāla, the author of the play, is described in the prologue as the son of Dhanadeva and Rukmiṇī. He belonged to the Modha family. His father was a minister. He himself is described as a swan in the lotus-feet of cakravartin Ajayadeva. This shows the possibility of his being a minister of Ajayapāladeva.

The author himself was a Jaina as he invokes the three Jain Tīrthaṅkaras in the introductory stanzas constituting the Nāndī and as his title 'paramarhat' shows.

Yaśapāla was a minister of Cakravartin Ajayadeva. But the question arises as to who this Ajayadeva is? The general opinion of the scholars is this that this Ajayadeva is the Ajayapāla or Ajayapāladeva the successor of king Kumārapāla of Chalukya dynasty. This Ajayapāla is said to have reigned for three years from Vikram Samvat 1229 to Vikram Samvat 1232.

(B) Theme

First act: After the Nāndī in which the three Tīrthaṅkaras viz. Rṣabha, Pārśva and Mahāvīra are invoked and the usual dialogue between the Sūtradhāra and the Nata, Kumārapāla enters with Vidūṣaka. The Vidūṣaka notices the king's inclination towards spirituality and his indifference to state affairs and lack of interest in music. He tries to divert his mind but becomes unsuccessful. In the meanwhile, the spy Jñānadarpaṇa enters and approaches the king. Then follows a witty dialogue between Vidūṣaka and Jñānadarpaṇa. In their dialogue Vidūṣaka gets angry and leaves the place. Thinking it a proper time, Jñānadarpaṇa, who was sent to gather information about Moha's kingdom, tells the king in detail his visit to the enemy's camp and the way he got admission there and collected information about

him (Moha). He then reports the besiege by Moha of the city of Janamanovṛtti (city of Man's Mind) whose ruler Vivekacandra has left the city with his wife Śānti and daughter Kṛpāsundarī. But nobody knows about the whereabouts of Vivekacandra though a vigorous search to locate him is ordered. King Kumārapāla gets pleased at listening to the name of Kṛpāsundarī. The spy further relates his meeting with Kṛtimañjarī, daughter of Saccaritra by his wife Nṛti and herself, wife of king Kumārapāla, who spoke of the indifference of the king towards herself and her brother, Pratāpa, being influenced by a Jaina monk. To take revenge on the king she instigated king Moha to attack king Kumārapāla. At her bidding, Moha took a vow to defeat the king. On hearing this from the spy, the king expresses his determination to defeat Moha. With the announcement of the midday, by bards, the king leaves with his spy and the act terminates here.

Second act: In the interlude of the second act, Puṇyaketu, minister of king Kumārapāla informs that he has accomplished the task of destroying the enemies. He further states that an astrologer Gurūpadeśa has predicted the victory of king Kumārapāla over Moha, if he marries Kṛpāsundarī. Then Vyavasāya enters and informs Puṇyaketu about the arrival of Vivekacandra alongwith his wife and daughter in the hermitage of Hemacandra and their meeting with the king, who being attracted by Kṛpāsundarī has lodged them in the drawing room of his palace.

In the act itself, the king accompanied by Vidūṣaka appears on the stage. The king is love-sick. When he retires to the garden *Dharma* to divert his mind, he sees there his sweet-heart Kṛpāsundarī accompanied by her friend Somatā sprinkling the tree *Dama* with the pot of meditation. The moment she touches the tree, the king takes hold of her hand. Later, when starts sprinkling it, the king's parrot comes there and relates to her friend Somatā that Kumārapāla has banished the seven vices and has taken a vow to stop from the practice of confiscating the property of persons dying issueless. In the meantime, the queen Rājyaśrī with her friend Raudratā comes there and finds her lord in the company with Kṛpāsundarī. The queen gets extremely angry. The king begs pardon but she does not accede. With the bard's announcing the twilight, the act ends.

Third act: In this act, the queen is forced to ask for Kṛpāsundarī's hand from her father. This happens due to the cleverness of Puṇyaketu, who somehow manages to hide one of his servants behind the image of the goddess to which the queen goes to have a boon of the disfigurement of Kṛpāsundarī and where to her great astonishment, she hears a divine voice telling her that by marriage with Kṛpāsundarī

alone can her lord (Kumārapāla) get victory over Moha and hence of the fulfilment of his daughter's vow, viz. the prohibition of the killing of the animals and other vices as well as the stoppage of the practice of the confiscation of the property of persons dying issueless, from his kingdom. The queen accepts the condition. She then sends Vyavasāya to inform the king about the terms of Viveka to which he readily agrees. In the remaining act is described as to how the king even being asked to take possession of the property of a millionaire believed dead in a ship mishap, withdraws his right to confiscate his property though he died issueless. At this action, the subjects get delighted. Then appears there suddenly the millionaire reported dead, along with his newly wedded wife in an aerial car. With the narration of the story of his journey by him (millionaire), the act terminates.

Fourth act: In the beginning, Deśaśrī comes to meet her sister Nagaraśrī. She notices some change in her sister and asks her the reason for the same to which she replies that she has become a convert to Jaina religion. Nagaraśrī then persuades her sister to accept the principles of Jainism. Deśaśrī is then introduced to Kṛpāsundarī and they become friends. Kṛpāsundarī feels disgusted by the noises of hunting and fishing. She is then consoled by the appearance of a police officer who proceeds to his duty of banishing vices. With him comes another person called Samsāraka, a person sent by Moha to deliver a letter to Kalikandala to tell him the help sent by Moha to him staying in his enemy's kingdom. The king orders the imprisonment of Samsāraka. The king orders the capture of the vices Gambling, Flesh-eating, Drinking, Slaughter, Theft and Adultery. Dharma-kuñjara brings all of them. They are produced before the king. They plead not guilty firstly because in olden days the king's predecessors practised (permitted) them, and secondly, they bring large revenues to the state. In spite of the above reasons, the king does not allow them to remain in his state and orders for their banishment. But he further declares that Concubinage may remain if she will.

Fifth act: In the beginning, Viveka expresses his happiness at the marriage of his daughter Kṛpāsundarī with Kumārapāla. He then starts praising the king (Kumārapāla). In the meantime, Jñana-darpaṇa after gathering some useful information about the workings and plans of the enemy Moha comes and reports them to the king. He makes him known the army of the enemy which consisted of Rāga, Dveṣa, Kāma, Krodha, Lobha, Mithyādr̥ṣṭi, Garva, Kalikandala, Pramāda, Pāpaketu, Dambha, Pākhaṇḍa, Asamyama, Śoka, Kīrti-mañjarī and her brother Pratāpa, Śṛṅgāra and other Rasas, the five sense objects and the vices. The king on hearing it, expresses his desire to fight with Moha single handed. But Viveka knowing Moha

to be a very strong and powerful, asks the king to seek the advice of his minister Puṇyaketu before taking any further step against him. Then Puṇyaketu comes with a Yogaśāstra, an armour and Vīmśati-Vtarāga-stutis which would serve to make the king invisible, sent by his preceptor Hemacandra for him (king). The king wearing that armour and keeping these pills in the mouth wants to fight with Moha all by himself. At last, Puṇyaketu, Vivekacandra and Jñānadarpaṇa are allowed to accompany him. Reaching the camp of the enemy, they find king Moha accompanied by his minister Pāpaketu. They hear Pāpaketu telling his master that the officers of their army have been captured by king Kumārapāla and that his defeat at the hands of his enemy is now any thing but certain. Then Kadāgama, a spy of Moha reports him the marriage of Kṛpāsundarī with king Kumārapāla and the prophecy that after the marriage, Kumārapāla would defeat Moha. Moha now asks his army to get ready to attack Kumārapāla. Kumārapāla immediately then renders himself visible. Then ensues a terrible battle wherein Kumārapāla wins a victory over Moha. Moha runs away with his army from the battle field. Kumārapāla, restores Vivekacandra to his capital and utters a benedictory stanza in praise of Jina and of Hemacandra and expresses his desire to close union with Kṛpāsundarī and Vivekacandra and hopes that his union with the moon of Viveka may do away with the darkness of Moha. Here ends the play.

As we know king Kumārapāla, the hero of the drama is a historical personage and belongs to the well-known family of Calukyās of Gujarat. His character as depicted in the play throws some light on the past events of his life which have historical value. Though the author of the play does not mention any historical fact directly but he has referred to many such incidents connected with Kumārapāla's life that have historical value and may be regarded as authoritative or authentic.

The first and important information given in the play is that Kumārapāla is mentioned as having delighted the hearts of the people plunged in sorrow due to the death of Siddharāja. From this it can be deduced that king Kumārapāla occupied the throne after the Siddharāja and thus became his successor. Kumārapāla's succession to the throne (of Gujrat) after the death of Siddharaja can be supported by the epigraphic evidences. For example in the Mangol stone inscription (Vikram Saṃvat 1202) Kumārapāla is mentioned as the successor of Siddharāja. Again in the Chittorgarh stone-inscription dated Vikram Saṃvat 1207 it is said that siddharaja was succeeded by Kumārapāladeva. Therefore, Kumārapāla's succession on the throne after Siddharaja is beyond doubt.

Further it is mentioned in the play that Kumārapāla built Tribhuvana Vihāra and thirty-two other temples for the expiation of the son. Reference to the construction of many Caityas and Vihāras by Kumārapāla is also made in Prabandha-Cintāmaṇi and Kumārapālacarita of Jayasīma. But except the Jalore stone-inscription which records the construction of Jaina Vihāra containing an image of Paśvanātha and known as Kuvāra (Kumāra) Vihār by the Gurjaradhārādhiśvara—Kumārapāla, no other epigraphic evidence is available to prove Kumārapāla as a builder of many Jaina Vihāras and temples.

Another important information supplied by the play is the banishment of the seven Vices, viz. drinking, flesheating, slaughter, gambling, adultery, theft and prostitution from the kingdom of Kumārapāla. The last Vice was not considered to be a very great sin and so was allowed to continue in the kingdom. The period of their banishment as mentioned in the play was of twelve years which shows that the influence of Jainism in Gujarat declined after Kumārapāla's death. Kumārapāla banished the vices only after his conversion to Jainism. He is said to have adopted the Jaina faith and taken the vows of a Jaina layman in V.S. 1216 and died in V.S. 1229. Therefore, he lived for about twelve or thirteen years after his initiation into Jain dharma. This proves the fact stated above that the influence of Jainism declined after Kumārapāla's death or after twelve years. The Jain chronicles are unanimous in stating that after his conversion to Jainism, Kumārapāla banished the vices like gambling, drinking, slaughter of animals, adultery etc. from his kingdom. There may be some exaggeration in the facts detailed above, yet some epigraphic evidence available indicated that they are partially based on facts for example the Ratanpur and Kiradu inscriptions record edicts for the prohibitions of slaughter of animals on certain specified days of the month only. The Jalor stone-inscription records that Kumārapāla was a paramārhat. Regarding the prohibition of prostitution and gambling it is noteworthy, says A.K. Majumdar, that 'not one single contemporary inscription has been found which prohibits these vices. In the play, the author indirectly refers to the relationship between the *Calukyas* and *Capotkaṭas*. In the fourth act the Calukyas are mentioned as staying in the same palaces which were the abodes of *cavaḍa* or the *capotkaṭa* Kings. It was the kind Mūlarāja who gained the kingdom of Gujarat through the power of his arms after the last *Capotkata* king.

Coming to the religious conditions, we find that the worship of a tutelary deity was prevalent in those times. They were praised by the devotees to confer blessings on them and for doing evil to the enemies. It is clear from the words of Rājyaśrī, the first wife of Kumārapāla who propitiated her tutelary deity for bringing back bad luck

to Kṛpāsundarī the new beloved of king Kumārapāla. Moreover the devotees had complete faith in the words of the gods and goddesses invoked. Rājyaśrī had complete faith in the words of her tutelary deity and so she went to Kṛpāsundarī's father Viveka to ask for her hand for her husband.

Earlier, Śaivism was the state religion but after Kumārapāla's conversion to Jainism by Ācārya Hemacandra, it was adopted as the state religion. In Jainism, more stress was laid on the principle of non-violence. In the very first verse of this play it is mentioned that Lord Jina is superior to Śiva, Brahmā, and Viṣṇu. The superiority of Jinendra shows the popularity of Jaina *dharma* in those times. After Kumārapāla was initiated into Jain religion, he took the twelve vows of a Jain layman and ordered the banishment of seven vices from his kingdom and stopped the practice of confiscation of the property of persons dying issueless. The practice of killing the animals was also stopped. All this was done under the influence of the teachings of Ācārya Hemacandra, the preceptor of the king Kumārapāla.

The Jainas used to have *caityas* in their houses, in which they used to worship the image of Nemi Jinapali. For the propagation of Jainism King Kumārapāla constructed many Jaina vihāras and Jaina temples throughout his kingdom.

JAINA CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOUTH INDIAN LITERATURES

Dr. A.N. Upadhye

The object of this paper is to take a resume of the Jaina literature available in three main languages of the South, namely, Kannaḍa, Tamil and Telugu.

The advent of the Jaina teachers to the South goes back long before the beginning of the Christian era. The arrival of Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta to the South is a good starting point. It is quite likely that some of the Jaina teachers and saints reached the South both along the eastern as well as western coasts. The Jainas cultivated the study of and used Prākṛit and Sanskrit in the South for their religious treatises; and outstanding authors like Kundakunda, Vaṭṭakera, Śivārya etc. and Umāsvāti, Samantabhadra, Siddhasena, Akalaṅka, Virasena, Jinasena etc. can be easily mentioned. For poets like Ravi-kīrti, Kālidāsa and Bhāravi were models. The Jaina teacher is not partial for any language: he would preach or write in any language for the moral benefit of his hearer or reader whose language he easily adopts. The great Jaina teachers noted above inspired Kannada authors; and in the so-called Old-Kannada period the Jaina authors are preeminent in their contributions to Kannada literature, both religious and secular. Side by side with the literary works, there are available so many Jaina inscriptions which contain not only historical material but are also fine specimens of Kannada poetry.

The earliest Kannada work is the Kavirājamārga of Nṛpatuṅga (c. 850 A.D.), alias Amoghavarṣa, of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. His partiality for and patronage to Jaina authors are well known. The various references in this work fully testify to his keen interest in the Kannada country, people and language. Among the earlier poets mentioned by him, Śrīvijaya (who is looked upon by some scholars as the real author of the Kavirājamārga) is referred to as the author of the Candraprabha-purāṇa by Maṅgarasa III and highly praised by Durgasiṃha. Then there is Guṇavarma I, the author of the Śūdraka and Harivaṃśa, quoted by later authors, who was patronised by the Ganga king Ereyappa (886-913 A.D.). This work testifies to widespread cultivation of and abundant literature in Kannada prior to its age.

The tenth century A.D. is the golden period of Kannada literature. It may also be noted that the Apabhraṃśa poet Puṣpadanta and the

Sanskrit poet Somadeva belonged to this period of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Pampa (942 A.D.) the author of the Ādipurāṇa and Bhārata (Vikramārjuna-vijaya), is the foremost poet in Kannada. His family (originally following the Vedic religion) hailed from the Vengi territory, and his father accepted Jainism. His works exhibit his close acquaintance with Sanskrit classics; and he had equipped himself in the various branches of contemporary knowledge. He is a gifted poet, with wide learning and extensive training. His descriptions of nature are beautiful, and his analysis of men and matters quite penetrating. He has given a description of himself plainly: 'With a complexion neither dark nor light, with a head crowned with curly hair, with a stature neither tall nor short, with language soft and sober and charming, Pampa was a delightful person to behold and converse with.' He was a court poet of Arikesari II, a prince of the Cālukya family, a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭa Krishna III. He was barely forty when he completed his two great poems, Ādipurāṇa and Bhārata in 942 A.D., one in three months and the other in six months.

In the Ādipurāṇa Pampa gives the biography of Ādinātha, the first Tirthaṅkara. He has no doubt inherited the story from Jinasena's Ādipurāṇa; but his performance is more a Kāvya than a Purāṇa. Even the ten Bhavas, which would have become monotonous otherwise, are woven into an artistic pattern presenting a theme of great elevation. As the late Prof. D.L. Narasimhachar puts it: 'In the first five births the desire for enjoyment is supreme and intense; in the succeeding births it gradually wears off yielding place to renunciation, culminating in the realization of infinite and everlasting happiness which is the inherent nature of the soul.'

The duel between Bāhubali and Bharata is a thrilling episode in this poem. Pampa narrates it with remarkable dignity: as the situation grows tense, the poet exhibits his gifts of imagination and expression, suited to the occasion. 'Full of passion and action, the story rises to the heights of sublimity in the hands of Pampa and the characters are titans in their majesty and grandeur. 'Likewise the episode of N'lāṅjanā bears full testimony to Pampa's proficiency in music and dance. He has made it a fine piece of poetry, and the way the dancing damsel disappears into death is an impressive lesson to illustrate the frailty of human existence. Pampa does inherit all that is best in Jinasena, but everything he invests with poetic charm and dignity.

The Vikramārjuna-vijaya, popularly known as Pampa-Bhārata, narrates the tale of Pāṇḍavas, mainly based on the Mahābhārata. Though the warp and woof are the age-old, the garment has assumed a dignified appearance in the hands of Pampa. Pampa identifies his

patron Arikesari, the Chālukya prince, with Arjuna and makes him the hero of the poem. Arikesari was a great hero of his times and had fought successfully many a battle. Arikesari really deserved to be perpetuated in a great poem like this by Pampa, himself a warrior and perhaps a counsellor too to his patron. The choice of Arjuna as the hero has upset the original pattern of the story. But apart from this, the various characters, situations and sentiments of the Bhārata tale have been presented with such dignity, ingenuity and facility of expression that this poem has achieved a lasting place of honour in Kannada literature.

Pampa is both a trained and gifted poet. His style has a meaningful depth, and his expression is concise and apt. His themes are worthy of reverence, and he has built his characters to great heights. It is rightly said that 'he is the father of Kannada poetry and is an enduring master of it.'

Ponna (c. 950 A.D.) was a contemporary of Pampa. They have not, however, referred to each other. Ponna was attached to the imperial court of the Rāshtrakūṭa king, Krishna III (939-68 A.D.) from whom he received the title Kavi-Cakravarti. Ponna had an exaggerated estimate of his poetic greatness; and he claims to have surpassed Kālidāsa in Sanskrit and Asaga in Kannada. Two works of his are available: (i) Śāntipurāṇa and (ii) Jinākṣaramāle. The former is a Purāṇic Kāvya dealing with the traditional biography of Śāntinātha, the sixteenth Tīrthaṅkara, and the latter is a small hymn in praise of Jina. His Bhuvanaikarāmābhyudaya has not come to light so far. Ponna has studied deeply the works of Kālidāsa, and many of his verses echo the ideas and expressions of Kālidāsa. Further, his poem is much indebted to the Śāntipurāṇa (in Sanskrit) of Asaga to whom he specifically refers. Though the theme is Purāṇic in its pattern, Ponna shows his flash of poetic genius and flourish of expression in many a context. He is undoubtedly a learned poet, well-versed in various branches of contemporary learning. A more thorough study of Ponna in the light of the works of Kālidāsa and Asaga is a desideratum.

Though differing in social status and position, as men of letters, both Chāvūṇḍarāya (c. 978 A.D.) and Ranna (c. 993) deserve to be taken together. Chāvūṇḍarāya hailed from the Brahma-kṣatriya family and was a minister to the Ganga ruler Rāchamalla (974-84 A.D.) as well as the commander-in-chief of his army. He fought many successful battles; he got the image of Bāhubali, 57 feet in height, constructed and consecrated in the hill at Shravan Belgola; and that image became famous as Gommaṭeśvara after his personal name,

Gommaṭa. Much of his wealth was spent in religious acts and in patronising saints and men of letters. Ranna, on the other hand, hailed from Vaiśya-kula, and his family profession was of bangle-makers (*balegāra*). He was attracted to Shravana Belgola and has left there his autograph 'Śri Kavi-Ratna' inscribed in stone on Chikka-betta which is also decked with Chāmuṇḍarāya-basadi. Both had a common Guru in Ajitasenācārya; and possibly they cooperated in their literary enterprises. It is quite likely that Chāmuṇḍarāya was a patron of Ranna who later on got himself attached to the court of Tailapa (973-97 A.D.) and his son Satyāśraya (997-1009 A.D.) of the Chālukya dynasty.

Chāvuṇḍarāya is well known for his prose work in Kannada, Triṣaṣṭi-lakṣaṇa-mahāpurāṇa (besides the Caritrasāra in Sanskrit, attributed to his authorship), popularly known by the title Chāvuṇḍarāya-purāṇa. It is a running summary of the Sanskrit Mahāpurāṇa of Jinasena-Guṇabhadra; but its value is great, because it is one of the early prose works in Kannada brought to light so far (the other one, Vaḍḍārādhane). It shows Pampa's influence and also betrays possibly Ranna's collaboration.

Among the works attributed to Ranna, the Paraśurāma-carita and Cakreśvara-carita are not available; so his estimate as a poet depends on his two works, the Ajita-purāṇa and Sāhasa-Bhīmavijaya or Gadāyuddha as it is popularly known. The Ajita-purāṇa narrates the biography of the second Tirthaṅkara. Comparatively it is a small work. Still the poet shows his gifts of emotional poetry and eloquent diction. The episode of Sagara is sketched with great skill and sensitiveness.

The Gadāyuddha has won eternal fame and position for Ranna as a Kannada poet. It depicts the fight between Bhīma and Duryodhana, the former being identified with his patron Iriva Beḍaṅga Satyāśraya. Ranna is indebted to Pampa in this context and shows close study of the Veṇiśaṁhāra. As a critic puts it : 'Ranna's mind was essentially dramatic in quality; vigorous action, powerful dialogue, living characterisation and emotional fire are some of its elements.'

Ranna had in him some innate goodness and greatness; and he had high sense of gratitude towards his patrons. His Paraśurāma-carita, which is not available at present, was possibly composed to glorify Chāvuṇḍarāya who had a title Samara-Paraśurāma, just as the Sāhasa-Bhīma-vijaya portrays the patron Satyāśraya in the character of Bhīma. It was for Attimabbe that Ranna composed his Ajita-purāṇa. He has given an excellent sketch of this pious lady, an embodiment of dutifulness and religious devotion. It is a remarkable event

in the literary history of Kaṇṇāṭaka that she got prepared one thousand copies of the Śāntipurāṇa of Ponna and had them distributed. Ranna compares her dignity and purity to the sacred waters of Ganges and to a heap of snow-white cotton. Ranna lived a pretty long life : he remembered with gratitude his teacher Ajitasena in the title of his Ajitapurāṇa, his patron Chāvūṇḍarāya by calling his son Anna and also Attimabbe by naming one of his daughters after that great lady. How sincere was his gratefulness !

The example of Pampa, Ponna and Ranna, who are collectively termed Ratnatraya, is followed by a series of Kannada poets who have composed elegant poems, Campūs and Kāvyaas in different metres, propounding religious themes and including the biographies of religious heroes and pious men and women of yore. A few only can be listed here. Sukumāracarite of Śāntinātha (1068 A.D.); Malinātha-purāṇa and Rāmacandra-carita-purāṇa of Nāgacandra alias Abhinava-Pampa (12th century A.D.); Neminātha-purāṇa of Kaṇṇapārya (1140 A.D.); Candraprabha-purāṇa of Aggaṭa (1189 A.D.); Vardhamāna-purāṇa of Ācaṇṇa (1195 A.D.); Ananatanātha-purāṇa and Yaśodharā-carite of Janna (1209 A.D.). Then we have the Dharmāmṛta of Nayasena (1112 A.D.), Jivasambodhane of Bandhuvarma (1200 A.D.) and Puṇyāśrvacampū of Nāgarāja (1331 A.D.) which give didactic tales of great human interest.

The Samaya-parikṣe of Brahmaśiva (1189 A.D.) and the Dharma-parikṣe of Vṛttavilāsa (1340 A.D.) have a polemic touch about them, now and then criticising and satirising other creeds. The latter work is inspired by the Dharma parikṣā (in Sanskrit) of Amitagati. The Līlāvatī of Nemicandra is a prose romance indebted to the Vāsavadattā of Subandhu. This spirit of composing Kāvyaas, Campūs, romances, didactic tales continued unabated for long and culminated in the great Bharateśva Vaibhava of Ratnākara of the middle of the sixteenth century.

In this context special mention must be made of Āṇḍayya (1235 A.D.), the author of the Kabbigara Kāva. He could see round about that the Sanskrit vocabulary was strangling the Kannada muse. He resented this and wrote his poem using mostly Kannada words which included some Tadbhava ones.

The Vaḍḍārādhane is an important work (c. 11th century A.D.) giving tales of religious heroes in elegant prose. It illustrates nineteen stories referred to in the Gāthās of the (Bhagavatī) Ārādhana.

Apart from the Kāvyaas in elegant Vṛttas, Satpadī, Sāṃgatya metres conforming to the spirit of the age, Jain authors like Nāgavarma II (1145 A.D.), Keśirāja (1260 A.D.) and Bhaṭṭākalaṅka (1604 A.D.)

have written grammars of Kannada : Keśirāja through Kannada but the two others through Sanskrit medium. Nāgavarma I (c. 990) has written on prosody, Rājāditya (1191 A.D.) on mathematics, Padmaṇa Paṇḍita on medicine and Maṅgarasa on cookery.

Likewise Jaina contributions to Tamil literature are equally important and rich. The Jaina advent into Tamil country is put even before the 1st century A.D. Early cave inscriptions at Madurai etc., 3rd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D., are engraved by the Jainas : they afford evidence for the antiquity of Jainism there. It is the Jaina authors that inaugurated a golden literary era in Tamil; and it continued prosperously upto the 7th-8th century A.D. The Pāṇḍya kings extended patronage to Jainism : some of them even embraced Jainism, and held it up as the state religion. Eminent Jaina teachers received royal patronage in many places. Vajranandi, for instance, was patronised by Pallava Simhavarman (550-60 A.D.). According to the Darśanasāra of Devasena (933 A.D.), the Jaina Guru Vajranandi, a disciple of Pūjyapāda, was responsible for starting the Dravida Sangha in Madura in c. 470 A.D.

Some of the Jaina contributions to Tamil literature may be reviewed in short. The Tirukkural is attributed to Jaina authorship; and its Maṅgala verse fully testifies to this. It is a salutation to Ādibhagavan who is the first (in the order of enumeration of Tīrthaṅkaras) just as the letter a is the first in the series of Akṣaras. Many Sangam works are composed by Jaina authors : Palmoli by Manruraiyaraianar, Śirupaṇjamūlam by Kiriyaśan, and Elādi by Kanimedaviyar. The famous Nālaḍiyār is attributed to a number of Jaina sages. There is a traditional tale about its composition. 'It is said that 8000 Jaina poets went to the court of a Pāṇḍya king and each wrote a stanza on a scroll. The Hinde poets at the court of the king prejudiced his mind against the new comers, so much so that the latter decamped leaving their scrolls behind. These scrolls were ordered to be thrown into a river when 400 of them are said to have ascended for the space of four feet against the stream. These scrolls were preserved and formed into a work called Nālaḍiyār.' Verily each verse is a gem of Mukṭaka poetry, teaching some lesson or the other, a moral precept or a piece of worldly wisdom. There is ample evidence to the effect that Jainas, their monuments and literary works have suffered a good deal in the Tamil area about the 8th-9th century A.D., but that is not our subject at present.

In the realm of Kāvya literature, we have the Jivaka-cintāmaṇi of Tiruttakkadevar who is called 'the prince of Tamil poets'. Ilangovalai, author of the Śilappadikāram, was a Jaina; and it is a magnificent poem, thrilling in its narration and catching in its moral

tone. There are other poems like Neelakeśi, Merumandara-purāṇam, Yaśodhara-kāvya and Valaipati. There are also some minor Kāvya of Jaina authorship like the Cūḍāmaṇi, Udayanakathai etc.

The Tamil grammar Tolkappiyam is by a Jaina author. Then we have the grammars of Neminātham and Nannūl, the lexicons Sendan Divākaram and Cūḍāmaṇi, and the work on prosody Yāpparungalām and its commentary : all by Jaina authors.

Somehow much of the Jaina literature in Telugu has not come down to us. There is Jainendrapurāṇa by Padmakavi and Ādipurāṇa of Sarvadevaiya. The Kavijanāśraya bears indications of Jaina authorship.

References : R. Narasimhacharya : Karnataka Kavicarite, Vols. I and II, issued from Bangalore 1961; also his History of Kannada Literature, Mysore 1940. D.L. Narasimhachar : Old-Kannada Literature, pp. 82 ff., Karnataka Darśana, Bombay 1955. A. Chakravarti : Jaina Tamil Literature, Arrah 1941.

भगवान् महावीर की अहिंसा

पं० दलसुख मालवणिया

भारतीय संस्कृति में भगवान् महावीर का अहिंसा के विषय में जो प्रदान है उसकी चर्चा प्रस्तुत में करना है। इस विषय की सामग्री केवल आचारांग प्रथम श्रुतस्कन्ध और सूत्रकृतांग प्रथम श्रुतस्कन्ध से ली गई है। वह इसलिए किये दोनों जौनागमों में प्राचीनतम आगम माने गये हैं। भगवती के कुछ अंश भी प्राचीन माने गये हैं किन्तु उस सामग्री का उपयोग फिर कभी किया जायगा। केवल इन दोनों के आश्रय से जो चर्चा होगी वह निश्चित रूप से स्वयं भ० महावीर की मान्यताओं के निकट हमें ले जायगी, इस विश्वास के साथ मैं केवल इस सामग्री का उपयोग यहाँ कर रहा हूँ।

वेद की दार्शनिक चर्चा सृष्टि के विषय में है—यह सृष्टि किसने बनाई और किससे बनाई। अतएव इस चर्चा में अहिंसा विचारणा को—कोई अवकाश था नहीं। आचारके विषय में भी यज्ञों की प्रक्रिया थी और अधिकांश यज्ञों में तो पशुहिंसा अनिवार्य थी। अतएव धार्मिक आचरणों में भी अहिंसा की विचारणा को कोई स्थान था नहीं। वेद उपदेश प्रधान हैं नहीं किन्तु देवों की स्तुतियाँ उनमें मुख्यरूप से हैं। अतएव इस प्रसंग में भी शत्रुकी हत्या स्तोता को अपेक्षित थी और नाना प्रकार की संपत्ति की माँग मुख्य थी। अतएव इनमें भी—अहिंसा का कोई प्रश्न नहीं है। ब्राह्मण काल में भी यही प्रक्रिया चली। उपनिषदों में प्राचीन उपनिषदों के काल में भी सृष्टि के मूलभूत तत्त्व की खोज ही मुख्य रही। और निष्पत्ति ब्रह्म या आत्मा की खोज है। उपनिषदों में याज्ञिक कर्मकांडों का विरोध दीखता है किन्तु वहाँ भी ज्ञान और कर्म का विवाद है। अहिंसा† और हिंसाका नहीं। ज्ञानमार्ग ही आत्मशोध में उपकारक है कर्ममार्ग नहीं—यह उपनिषदों के मार्ग-का सार है। ज्ञानमार्ग में भी बाह्य तत्त्व-पदार्थ जो दिखाई देते हैं उनके पीछे कोई शाश्वत तत्त्व है या नहीं—है तो— वह कैसा है—यही जिज्ञासा का विषय था। इसमें भी हिंसा—अहिंसा की चर्चा विचारणा को कोई स्थान मिला नहीं। अतएव यदि विद्वानों का यह मत स्थिर हुआ कि अहिंसा की चर्चा का स्रोत वेदबाह्य परंपरा में है—तो यह उचित ही जँचता है।

† प्राचीन उपनिषदों में केवल एक बार अहिंसा शब्द का प्रयोग है। जो ऋषि ज्ञान यज्ञ करते हैं उनके द्वारा दी जाने वाली दक्षिणा के प्रसंग में—छान्दो० ३-१७.४ और गृह्यस्थ के लिए केवल तीर्थ से अन्यत्र सर्वभूतों की अहिंसा का (अहिंस्यन्) विधान है—छान्दो० (८.१५.१) पंडितपुत्र की उत्पत्ति के लिए वृषभमांसाशन विहित है—बृहदा० ६.४/१८।

वेदबाह्य परंपरा से अभिप्राय श्रमण परंपरा से है। भ० महावीर और भगवान् बुद्ध के पूर्व भी श्रमण परंपरा थी यह इतिहाससिद्ध तथ्य है। और बुद्ध के पूर्व भी निर्ग्रन्थ परम्परा, जिसे आज हम जैन परम्परा के नाम से जानते हैं, मौजूद थी—यह तथ्य भी इतिहासमान्य है। इस निर्ग्रन्थ परम्परा में भगवान् महावीर हुए और उनका उपदेश जैन आगमों में सुरक्षित है। अतएव यदि हम यह मानें कि अहिंसा के स्रोत की खोज में एक मात्र प्राचीनतम साधन जैनागम हैं तो वह अन्यथा बात नहीं होगी।

उपनिषद् का ध्येय है सम्पूर्ण विश्व के उपादानरूप से एक आत्मा या ब्रह्म की खोज। भ० महावीर की खोज भी आत्मा की ही थी। भेद दोनों में है तो इतना कि उपनिषद् दृश्य सब वस्तुओं का परीक्षण करके सबमें अंतर्निहित एक मात्र आत्मा या ब्रह्म की सत्ता स्वीकार करता है। जब कि महावीर ने विश्व के आत्मा की नहीं किन्तु अपने आत्मा की खोज की। सबको अपने आत्मरूप समझना—यह ध्येय उपनिषद् का था अतएव उसमें ज्ञान की प्रधानता थी। वैदिक कर्ममार्ग—क्रियामार्ग का तो त्याग उपनिषद् में दीखता है किन्तु उसका स्थान केवल ज्ञान ने लिया है, विशुद्ध आचरण ने नहीं। उपनिषद् के ऋषियों को परिग्रह का पाप दीखता नहीं है। आंतरिक ज्ञान-यज्ञ का महत्त्व मानकर भी मैथुन में प्रवृत्ति बाधक नहीं है—छान्दो ३.१७.३। वे तो जगत् के आदि कारण की केवल खोज में तत्पर हैं और तत्त्वज्ञान में रत हैं। और सारा विश्व केवल ब्रह्म है, उससे अतिरिक्त कुछ नहीं इस निष्पत्ति पर पहुँचते हैं। इसके लिए आचरण की विशुद्धता जरूरी नहीं मानी गई, केवल जगत् के स्वरूप का चिंतन—मनन—निदिध्यासन करके ब्रह्म ही सब-कुछ है—इस तात्पर्य पर पहुँचना ध्येय रहा है।

इसके विपरीत महावीर की जो आत्मखोज है वह दूसरा मार्ग लेती है। और उसी में से अहिंसा फलित होती है। जगत् में उनको भी सर्वत्र आत्मा ही आत्मा दीखता है किन्तु एक नहीं अनेक।^१ बुद्ध की तरह उनको भी सर्वत्र दुःख ही दुःख नजर आया।^२ और उस दुःख से ये नाना आत्मा या जीव कैसे मुक्त हों इसकी चिन्ता हुई। इसी चिन्ता में से जीव के कर्म का विचार हुआ। और उस कर्म को ही उत्कट बन्धन उन्होंने माना। उस बन्धन से जीव कैसे मुक्त हो और क्यों वह बन्धन आता है—इसी विचारणा के फलस्वरूप अहिंसा की अनिवार्यता उनकी समझ में आई है।^३

१. आचा० अ० १। सूत्रक० १.११.६-६

२. बहुदुःखा तु जन्तवो—आचा० ६.१.४; १.६.२

३. करिस्सं चहं काखेवेस्सं चहं करओ वावि समणुत्ते भविस्सामि.....कम्मसमा-
रभा परिजाणियव्वा....तत्थ खलु भगवया परिन्ना पवेइया....दुक्खपडिघायहेउं—

आचा० १.१.५-७;

सूत्रक० १.११.६।

भ० महावीर ने औपनिषदिक ज्ञानमार्ग का विरोध तो नहीं किया किन्तु उस ज्ञानमार्ग द्वारा विशुद्ध आचरण की जो उपेक्षा हुई थी, उस दोष का निराकरण तो अवश्य किया है और अहिंसा की प्रतिष्ठा की है। अन्यथा—

“एयं खु नाणिणो सारं जं न हिसइ कंचण ।

अहिंसा समयं चेव एयावन्तं वियाणिया ।।”

—सूत्रकृ० १.११.१०

यह उद्धोष कैसे होता ?

भ० महावीर ने स्पष्ट ही एकीकरण करके कहा है कि जो पुनर्जन्म की परंपरा को मानते हैं वे ही कर्मवादी, आत्मवादी, क्रियावादी और लोकवादी होते हैं—आचा० १.१.१-५। सारांश कि आत्मा को मानकर भी जो कर्म को नहीं मानते और कर्म के कारण आत्मा का जन्म-जन्मान्तर नहीं मानते वे आत्मवादी नहीं हो सकते। इस कर्मचर्चा को उपनिषद् में गूढ़ माना गया है और उसकी चर्चा खुलेआम सबके समक्ष नहीं हो सकती थी। यही कारण है कि ऋषि ने जिज्ञासु को एक कोने में ले जाकर समझाया कि अच्छे काम का अच्छा फल होता है और बुरे काम का बुरा।^१

वैदिकों में कर्म—यज्ञकर्म प्रचलित था किन्तु यहाँ कर्म का व्यापक अर्थ है। वैदिकों में कर्म की महत्ता स्थापित थी किन्तु भ० महावीर ने तो—कर्मसमारम्भ को संसार-बर्धक बताया। और कर्म के त्याग का उपदेश देकर निर्वाण का मार्ग लोगों को दिखाया।^२ मनुष्य का ध्येय स्वर्ग नहीं किन्तु ब्रह्मज्ञान होना जरूरी है—यह तो उपदेश उपनिषदों से मिला किन्तु निर्वाण और मोक्ष आत्मा की विशुद्धि से ही होता है और वही परम ध्येय है। और इस विशुद्धि के लिए केवल यज्ञकर्म का त्याग ही नहीं किन्तु सब प्रकार की क्रिया का या कर्म का त्याग जरूरी है—इस बात पर जोर तो भ० महावीर का है। और उन्होंने सच्चे मुनि या ऋषि उन्हीं को माना है जो सब प्रकार के कर्मसमारम्भ का त्याग करते हैं; इतना ही नहीं किन्तु कर्मसमारम्भ की प्रेरणा या अनुमति से भी दूर रहते हैं—

“जस्सेए लोगंसि कम्मसमारंभा

परिन्नाया भवन्ति, से हु मुणि

परिन्नायकम्मे त्ति बेमि”—आचा० १.१.७।

“न कम्मुणा कम्म खवेन्ति बाला

अकम्मुणा कम्म खवेन्ति धीरा ।। सूत्रकृ० १.१२.१५

श्रमण परम्परा में अणगार हो कर भी लोग यह नहीं जानते थे कि जीव कहाँ कहाँ होते हैं अतएव अहिंसा के नाम पर हिंसक जीवन बिताते थे।^३ ऐसा न हो इसलिए

१. बृहदा० ३.२.१३

२. आचा० १.१.४-७; २.२.३; २.३.५

३. आचा० १.२.२.

अहिंसा की साधना की सिद्धि के लिए उन्होंने षड्जीवनिकाय का परिचय अणुगार को होना जरूरी है यह स्पष्टीकरण किया और विस्तृत जीवविचारणा की नींव भारतीय दर्शन में डाली। देखें आचारांग का अध्या० १।

ब्रह्मवाद में आत्मभेद व्यावहारिक है अतएव हिंसा-अहिंसा का प्रश्न तात्त्विक रूप से उठ नहीं सकता है। जब जीवभेद की मान्यता हो तब हिंसा-अहिंसा की विचारणा को अवकाश रहता है। भ० महावीर ने जीवभेद माना, इतना ही नहीं समग्र लोक में नाना जीव व्याप्त हैं—ऐसा प्रतिपादन किया। तब साधक के लिए यह आवश्यक हो गया कि वह अन्य जीवों को अपने समान देखे। अर्थात् भ० महावीर का जो सामायिक का उपदेश है वही अहिंसा के मूल में है। उन्होंने स्वयं अपना साधक जीवन इस तरह बिताया कि किसी भी प्राणी को उनकी कोई क्रिया से कष्ट न पहुँचे। अपने लिए बना भोजन भी वे नहीं लेते थे। भिक्षाजीवी थे। किन्तु जहाँ कहीं यह ज्ञात हो जाय कि गृहस्थ ने उनके निमित्त कुछ बनाया है तो उसे वे कभी लेते नहीं थे। वस्त्र का तो उन्होंने त्याग ही किया था और श्मशान आदि स्थानों में वे ध्यान करते थे जो किसी का निवास स्थान होता नहीं था। आवश्यकता ही हिंसा की जननी है अतएव उन्होंने अपनी आवश्यकता कम से कम रखी थी। केवल भोजन और वह भी जब अनिवार्य हो जाय तब ही वे भिक्षा से करते थे। अपना सारा समय उन्होंने ध्यान में बिताया, निद्रा या प्रमाद को जीवन में अवकाश ही नहीं था। अपने इस अनुभव के बल पर जब उन्होंने आत्मा को कषायमुक्त किया तब उन्होंने उपदेश देना शुरू किया। उनका उपदेश था^१ सभी प्राणी सुख चाहते हैं, दुःख कोई नहीं चाहता, सभी जीना चाहते हैं, मृत्यु कोई नहीं चाहता, जैसे अपने को सुख प्रिय है, दुःख अप्रिय है—वैसे सभी को सुख प्रिय है और दुःख अप्रिय—अतएव किसी भी प्राण की हिंसा नहीं करनी चाहिए।^२ यही उनका अपूर्व उपदेश था और वह था सामायिक का उपदेश जो उनके पूर्व किसी ने दिया नहीं है—

“नहि नून पुरा अणुस्सुयं अदुवा तं तह नो समुट्ठियं।

मुणिणो सामाइ आहियं नाएणं जगसव्वदंसिणा।।”

सूत्रक० १.२.२.३१

१. सव्वे पाणा पियाउया सुहसाया दुक्खपडिकूला अप्पियवहा पियजीविणो जीविउ कामा। सव्वेसि जीवियं पियं—आचा० २.३.४।

२. वयं पुण एवं आइक्खामो.....परूवेमो—सव्वे पाणा सव्वे भूया सव्वे जीवा सव्वे सत्ता न हत्तव्वा न अज्जावेयव्वा न परियावेयव्वा न परिघेतव्वा न उद्देवेयव्वा—

आचा० ४.२.५;

सूत्रक० २.१.१५।

भ० महावीर का धर्म सरल नहीं है, वह घोर है^१ अतएव 'देहदुखं महाफलं' (दशवै० ८.२७) यह सिद्धान्त जैनों द्वारा अपनाया गया है। और उसी बाह्याचार को देखकर भ० बुद्ध ने भी भ० महावीर के विषय में आक्षेप किया है कि, "हिंसा या पाप का आधार शरीर की क्रिया है (कायदंड) मन की (मनोदंड) नहीं—ऐसा निर्ग्रन्थ ज्ञातपुत्र^२ मानते हैं।" किन्तु वास्तविक बात कुछ और ही है। इस विषय में कि हिंसा या अन्य पाप किस कारण से होता है—भ० महावीर और बुद्ध का ऐकमत्य ही है। पाप का आधार या कहो कि कर्म का आधार मानसिक अध्यवसाय ही मुख्य रूप से है, शरीर की बाह्य क्रिया नहीं, यह दोनों को समानरूप से मान्य है किन्तु सांप्रदायिक विद्वेष के कारण एक दूसरे की निन्दा की गई है। जैनों ने बौद्धों को उनकी बाह्य क्रिया देखकर शिथिलाचारी बताया और बौद्धों ने जैनों के लिए उनकी बाह्यक्रिया देखकर 'शरीर से ही पाप होता है'—ऐसा आक्षेप किया। वास्तविकता कुछ दूसरी ही है।

स्वयं भ० महावीर और बुद्ध दोनों ने कठोर तपस्या की थी। बुद्ध ने उससे कोई लाभ देखा नहीं क्योंकि उन्होंने तब तक प्रचलित केवल बाह्य तपस्या का आश्रय लिया था। किन्तु भ० महावीर ने तपस्या का विचार अपने ढंग से किया था उससे उन्हें तपस्या से लाभ ही हुआ। भ० महावीर की तपस्या का सिद्धान्त यह है कि बाह्य तपस्या अर्थात् शारीरिक कष्ट यह तो आंतरिक तपस्या, ध्यान आदि का साधन मात्र है। बुद्ध ने साधन को साध्य मान लिया अतएव उससे लाभ नहीं उठा सके। वे केवल शरीर-कष्ट उठाते रहे। ध्यान किया ही नहीं। आगे चल कर केवल ध्यान ही किया। जब कि भगवान् महावीर ने शरीर कष्ट सहे अवश्य, किन्तु ध्यान की सुविधा के लिए। उन्हें तपस्या-बाह्य तपस्या से आन्तरिक तपस्या ध्यान को सिद्ध करना था। उनका ध्येय था आंतरिक तपस्या और उसका साधन थी बाह्य तपस्या। भ० बुद्ध ने बाह्य तपस्या छोड़ कर ध्यान किया जब कि भ० महावीर ने बाह्य तपस्या को साधन बनाकर ध्यान किया। भ० महावीर की साधना का जो चित्र आचारांग के उपहाणसुत्त में दिया गया है उसे पढ़कर कोई भी यह जान सकता है कि उन्होंने ध्यान को ही महत्त्व दिया है। :—

“राइंदियं पि जयमाणे अप्पमत्ते समाहिए साइ” ६.२.४

“अयमुत्तमे से धम्मे तुसिणीए स कसाइए ज्ञाइ।” ६.२.१२

१. घरे धम्मे उदीरिए— आचा० ६.४.२.

अणुपुब्बेण महाघोरं कासवेण पवेइयं। सूत्रक० १.११.५

२. मज्झिमनिकाय भाग १. पृ० ३७१

“छट्टेणमेगया भुञ्जे अदु वा अट्टमेण दसमेणं
दुवालसमेण एगया भुञ्जे पेहमाणे समाहि अपडिन्ने”

६.४.७

“अवि सूइयं व सुक्कं वा सीयपिण्डं पुराणकम्मासं ।
अदु बोक्कसं पुलागं वा लद्धे पिण्डे अलद्धए दविए । ।
अवि झाइ से महावीरे आसत्थे अकुक्कुए ज्ञाणं ।
उड्डं अहे य तिरियं च लोए ज्ञायइ समाहिमपडिन्ने । ।
अकासी विगयगेही य सदरूपेसु अमुच्छिण्ण झाइ ।
छउमत्थो वि परक्कममाणे न पमायं सइं पि कुव्विथा । ।

६.४.१३-१४

सूत्रकृतांग में उनकी स्तुति में कहा है:—

“अणुत्तरं धम्ममुदीरइत्ता अणुत्तरं ज्ञाणवरं ज्ञियाइ”

सूत्रकृ० १.६.१६

“कोडं च माणं च तहेव मायं लोभं चउत्थं अज्झतदोसा ।
एयाणि वंता अरहा महेसी न कुव्वई पाव न काखेइ । ।”

१.६.२६

अपने इसी अनुभव के आधार पर भ० महावीर ने अपने श्रमणों के लिए भी जो मार्ग बताया है उसमें भी समाधि का महत्त्व है ही—

“मज्झत्थो निज्जरापेही समाहिमणुपालए ।
अन्तोर्बहिं विअोसज्ज अज्झत्थं सुद्धमेसए । ।”

—आचा० ८.८.५

“इन्दिएहिं गिलायन्तो समियमाहरे मुणि
तहवि से अगरेहे अचले जे समाहिए । ।”

—आचा० ८.८.१४

और भी देखें —आचा० ४.३.२ ।

प्रस्तुत में यह भी ध्यान देने की बात है कि समाधि और ध्यान का महत्त्व है ही किन्तु समाधि के लिए जो आवश्यक है—अप्रमाद या यतना उसको भी भगवान् महावीर के जीवन में स्थान मिला है । और यही अप्रमाद या यतना सम्पूर्ण संयम की आधार शिला है और प्रमाद ही हिंसा आदि सब पापों की जड़ है ।

भगवान् महावीर ने जो अपने ध्यान में अप्रमाद को स्थान दिया वह पूर्व परम्परा के अनुसार है ही क्योंकि उपनिषदों में भी ध्यान में अप्रमाद का महत्त्व स्वीकृत था ।

“ध्यायन्नप्रमत्तः” (छान्दो० १.३.१२; २.२२.२), “अप्रमत्तेन वेधव्यं”—
(मुण्ड० २.२.४) “मनो धारयेताप्रमत्तः” (श्वेता० २.६) इत्यादि वाक्यों से यह स्पष्ट होता है । भगवान् बुद्ध ने भी अप्रमाद का महत्त्व अत्यधिक माना है । उन्होंने तो यहाँ

तक कहा कि अप्रमाद ही अमृत पद है और प्रमाद ही मृत्यु का पद है—“अप्यमादो अमृतपदं पमादो मच्चुनो पदं”—धम्मपद—२१ ।

भगवान् महावीर की विशेषता यदि है तो यह कि उस अप्रमाद को आत्म-विशुद्धि का साधन बनाया और अप्रमाद के विशुद्धिकारक पक्ष की ओर लोगों का विशेष ध्यान आकर्षित किया । अप्रमाद केवल एकाग्रता के लिए नहीं किन्तु आत्म-विशुद्धि के लिए भी जरूरी है इस बात पर विशेष भार उन्होंने दिया ।

आन्तरिक विशुद्धि की मात्रा के अनुसार बाह्य आचरण की विशुद्धि होती है । यदि मन में ममत्त्व की मात्रा घटती है तो तदनुरूप बाह्य वस्तुओं का त्याग अपने आप होता चला जाता है । और जितना ममत्त्व अधिक उतना ही बाह्य परिग्रह भी बढ़ता जाता है । यह एक प्रकार का आन्तर-बाह्य का संबंध है । ममत्त्व की हीनता नहीं और बाह्य सभी वस्तु का त्याग किया तब भी वह फलदायी नहीं होता है क्योंकि कर्मबंध का कारण ममत्त्व तो मौजूद है । अतएव बाह्य त्याग की अपेक्षा आन्तरिक त्याग का महत्त्व अधिक है । यही बात आन्तर-बाह्य क्रिया के संबंध में भी की जा सकती है । आन्तरिक विशुद्धि की मात्रा के अनुसार ही बाह्य क्रिया की विशुद्धि और महत्त्व है । आन्तरिक विशुद्धि के ध्येय के बिना बाह्य कष्ट उठाना व्यर्थ है ।

ऐसा तत्त्वतः होने पर भी कभी-कभी बाह्य आचार से भी आन्तरिक विशुद्धि की ओर भी बढ़ा जा सकता है । किन्तु उसकी एक ही शर्त है कि बाह्य आचार का प्रयोजन आन्तरिक विशुद्धि हो । सम्पूर्ण वैराग्य न भी हो तब भी व्यावहारिक रूप से जो आचार के नियम बने हों—उनका जागृति पूर्वक पालन किया जाय तो उससे क्रमशः वैराग्य बढ़ सकता है और पूर्ण वैराग्य आ सकता है । इसीको लक्ष्य करके जैन श्रमणसंघ के बाह्याचार के नियम बनाये गये हैं । और वे बौद्ध संघ के नियमों से कठोर हैं—इसमें संदेह नहीं । किन्तु नियम कठोर हो तो उसका आंशिक भी पालन किया जा सकता है किन्तु पहले से ही नियम शिथिल हो तो पालन में और भी शिथिलता आती है । आदर्श तो सदैव उच्च ही रहता है । उसका पालन शक्ति के अनुसार होता ही है । किन्तु यदि आदर्श को ही गिराया जाय तब प्रयत्न में शिथिलता अवश्य रहती है । यही कारण है कि बौद्धसंघ अपनी शिथिलता के कारण भारत में टिक नहीं सका । और जैन संघ कठोर आचरण के कारण टिक सका किन्तु केवल कठोर आचरण ही नहीं था उसके पीछे अप्रमाद—संयम की—साधना भी थी ।

हिंसा-अहिंसा का विचार भी प्रमाद-अप्रमाद को केन्द्र में रखकर ही हुआ है । प्रमाद ही हिंसा की पाप जनकता का कारण है यह मन्तव्य आचार्य उमास्वाति ने हिंसा की व्याख्या करते हुए^१ दिया है । वह उनकी अपनी सूझ नहीं किन्तु उन्हें इस विषय में जो परंपरा मिली है उसे लेकर ही है । उमास्वाति के बाद तो प्रायः सभी आचार्यों ने

हिंसा की व्याख्या में इसी का महत्त्व स्वीकृत किया है।¹ यहाँ उमास्वाति से पूर्व आचारांग-सूत्रकृतांग में जो अप्रमाद को लेकर संयमसाधना की चर्चा की गई है उसी की कुछ चर्चा करना है।

जीवों को दुःख ही महाभय है।² और सभी जीव उससे छूटना चाहते हैं। किन्तु जब तक प्रमाद है तब तक दुःख से छुटकारा मिल ही नहीं सकता है। उसे जन्मचक्र भुगतना ही पड़ेगा।³ जब वह प्रमाद से मुक्त होता है—अप्रमत्त बनता है तब ही वह भयमुक्त होता है।⁴ जब तक जीव में अज्ञान है, प्रमाद है तब तक जीव मूढ़ है, धर्म को जान नहीं सकता। अतएव प्रमाद से मुक्त होना जरूरी है। और जो प्रमत्त हैं वे ही गृह में रहते हैं। अतएव उन्हें देखकर अर्थात् प्रमत्त को सब प्रकार से दुःखी देखकर अप्रमत्त तो अणगर बन जाता है।⁵ अतएव यदि प्रमाद से छुटकारा पाना है तो—भिक्षु बन जाना चाहिए। गृहस्थ को परिग्रह के बिना काम चलता नहीं और परिग्रह के लिए नाना प्रकार की चिंता करनी पड़ती है अतएव महाभय की जड़ परिग्रह ही है

१. विशेषचर्चा के लिए देखें—Jaina Theory and Practice of Non-violence—*Sambodhi* Vol. 2 No 1, p. 4.

२. सर्वेसिं पाणाणं.....महब्भयं दुक्खं— आचा० ४.२.४

३. माई पमाई पुनरेइ गब्भं—; आचा० ३.१.३;

सह पमाएणं अणेगरूवाओ जोणीओ संधेइ, विरूवरूपे फासे पडिसंवेइ”

आचा० २.३.२.

४. सव्वओ पमत्तस्स भयं । सव्वओ अपमत्तस्स नत्थि भयं—आचा० ३.४.१.

अट्ठा वि संता अदु वा पमत्ता पुढो पुढो जाइ पकप्पन्ति—आचा० ४.२.२.

५. अन्नाण—पमायदोसेणं सययं मूढे धम्मं नाभिजाणइ—आचा० ५.१.३.

६. पमत्तेहिं गारमावसंतेहिं—आचा० ५.३.४

पमत्ते बहिया पास अप्पमत्ते परिव्वए—

—आचा० ५.२.५;

सुत्ता अमुणी मुणिणो सतयं जागरंति—

आचा० ३.१.१

पासिय आउरे पाणे अपमत्तो परिव्वए—....अप्पमत्तो कामेहि, उवरओ पावकम्मेहि वीरे आयगुत्ते—आचा० ३.१.३

७. एयदेवेगेसि महब्भयं भवइ—आचा० ५.२.४

“जीवियं पियं इहमेगेसि माणवाणं खेत्तवत्थु ममायमाणाणं आरत्तं विरत्तं मणि-कुण्डलं सह हरिण्णेणं इत्थियाओ परिगिज्झ तत्थेव रत्ता । न एत्थ तवो वा दमो वा नियमो दिस्सइ ।”.....इति से परस्सट्ठाए कूराइं कम्माइं बाले पकुब्बमाणे तेण दुक्खेण मूढे विप्परियासुवेइ”—आचा० २.३.३-५;

परिग्गहं अमभायभाषे कालेणुट्ठाई—आचा० २.५.३.

और उसे छोड़ना जरूरी है। इसमें एक क्षण का भी प्रमाद धीर पुरुष न करें।^१ जिसने उत्थान किया है वह कभी प्रमाद नहीं करता—“उट्टिए नो पमायए”—आचा० ५.२.२। जो प्रमत्त है वही हनन, छेदन, भेदन आदि करता है—अर्थात् प्रमाद के कारण हिंसा होती है—“इह जे पमत्ता से हत्ता छेत्ता भेत्ता लम्पित्ता विलुम्पित्ता उद्धेत्ता उत्तसइत्ता ‘अकडं करिस्सामि’ त्ति मन्नमाणे।”—आचा० २.१.३; अतएव जो मुनि है, कुशल है वह प्रमाद नहीं करता और उसे महाभय समझ कर किसी की हिंसा नहीं करता—“उदाहु वीरे अण्णमाओ महामोहे ! अलं कुसलस्स पमाएणं....एयं पास मुणी महव्वभयं नाइवा-एज्ज कंचणं।”—आचा० २.४.३.४। इस प्रकार पाप कर्म या हिंसादि के लिए प्रमाद की मुख्यता मानी गई है। अतएव ‘निर्ग्रन्थों के मत में कायदंड का महत्त्व है, मनोदंड का नहीं’—यह बौद्ध आक्षेप निराधार है। कर्म चर्चा में जहाँ भी बंध के कारणों की चर्चा है वहाँ काययोग नहीं किन्तु कषाय—जो मनोदंड में शामिल है उसी को प्राधान्य दिया गया है। कर्म की स्थिति और रस अर्थात् अनुभाव की तीव्रता—मन्दता का आधार कषाय ही है, कायक्रिया नहीं। इससे भी स्पष्ट होता है कि पापकर्म का आधार कायक्रिया नहीं किन्तु मानसिक भाव ही मुख्य है।

इस दृष्टि से हम कह सकते हैं कि जैन विचारणा में अहिंसा और हिंसा का आधार क्रमशः अप्रमाद और प्रमाद है। बाह्य जीव का वध या प्राणातिपात गौण है। यह मानना इसलिए भी जरूरी था कि यतना कितनी भी रखे, अप्रमाद कितना भी हो किन्तु जीवों का प्राणातिपात तो अनिवार्य है। और ऐसी स्थिति में केवल प्राणातिपात से हिंसा का यदि पाप होता हो तो जीव की पाप से मुक्ति कभी संभव ही नहीं होगी। अतएव पापजनकता प्रमाद में है, केवल प्राणातिपात में नहीं यह बिना माने काम चलता ही नहीं था। परिणाम स्वरूप शरीर से जीववध होते हुए भी व्यक्ति अहिंसक निर्दोष रह सकता है यह मान्यता अनिवार्य है।

THE SYĀD-VĀDA OF THE JAINA PHILOSOPHY: A CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN EPISTEMOLOGY

Dr. T.G. Mainkar

There could be no two opinions about the contribution of the Jaina thought to the Indian Ethics, for the doctrine of Ahimsā and its strict observance in life are its precious gifts to the Indian way of life. It may be perhaps possible to trace the doctrine historically to earlier sources, but it cannot be gainsaid that it is the Jaina thought that has insisted very rigorously on it and its observance in the day to day life.

Primarily the doctrine has an ethical significance, but it has behind it a deep sympathetic understanding of the universe and the innumerable beings in it. It is taken for granted that the universe is full of life and every being is on its way of development, evolution. This being the state of affairs it is not proper to kill or destroy any being for it is not only cutting its life short, but is also preventing its attaining its full status in the scheme of the creation. In this way there is an understanding that life is present everywhere and secondly there is the possibility of a full development and consequent perfection for every being, small or great. From such a noble position arises the corollary that no being should come in the way and obstruct or thwart the development of any other being. Thus this position in finer analysis depends on the doctrines of maitrī and karuṇā. It has also a spiritual benefit attached to it since it is a means to free the soul from the sins involved in Himsā.

This Himsā of which every individual is likely to be guilty is three-fold, kāyika, vācika and mānasika, physical, verbal and mental. Of these types the first two are connected with the daily external life of man and are more or less ethical in character and significance. The mental Himsā is connected with intellectual warfare and as such its field is spiritual and philosophical in character and significance. The 'Syādvāda', it appears, is a reflection of the doctrine of Ahimsā in matters philosophical, more precisely epistemological.

It would be unwise to hold that truth is the monopoly of any particular thought or approach or that only one person knows something in its entirety leaving no scope whatsoever for divergence. If the doctrine of Ahimsā on ethical plane is a grand effort to accommodate in a harmonious manner all the life under the sun, the Syād-vāda is its counter-part in the realm of epistemology being an effort to accommodate in a harmonious manner divergent views and ideas about an entity.

Śaṃkara in his examination of this concept in his Bhāṣya on the Bādarāyana-Sūtras (II. 2.6.33) has, one may submit, not been at all fair both in interpreting and in refuting the doctrine. It does not make knowledge doubtful (jñānam utpadyamānam saṁśaya-jñānavat apramāṇam', for it does not admit, as the Bhāmatī puts it 'vastuni vikalpaḥ'. What it, as a matter of fact, intends to maintain that statements and views about an entity like the ghaṭa or paṭa, have a relative validity for the statement is true for the speaker and for the position from which he makes this statement. The 'syāt' in the formulae is sympathetically permissive and epistemologically sound and not indicative of ignorance or doubt. It is a sort of concession granted to the 'vikalpa' of the perceiving mind, so clearly recognised in the 'savikalpa jñāna' concept. Reality, may be tentative, has to be granted and conceded to knowledge brought by valid means of knowledge at the disposal of man. So long as perception is an act of a perceiving mind, inference an act of the inferring mind, verbal knowledge of the reasoning mind, till then all knowledge is bound to have a subjective element that is too difficult to be totally eliminated. All together thoroughly objective knowledge and therefore true, being in complete conformity with the object, 'yathā-artha', would be possible only when this subjective element, so essential and important factor of knowledge is completely eliminated. This truth is admitted by the Advaita, when it regards the 'Nirvikalpa' as the only truth and it grants only a relative validity to the 'savikalpa'. The Syādvāda is nothing more than this same affirmation and one fails to understand the ridicule to which Śaṃkara has subjected it. Curiously enough the 'anirvacanīyatva' of the phenomenon also is seen figuring here.

Nor does this position admit the existence at one and the same, of contraries in an entity as Bādarāyana seems to suggest in his Sūtra 'Ekasminnasambhavāt' which Śaṃkara has explained as 'ekasmin dharmiṇi yugapat-sadasattvādi-viruddha-dharma-samāveśah'. This contradiction would result if this were the perception of a single mind. If two minds take different positions about one and the same and they invariably do so-it is quite possible that one of them is not correct, but it is equally possible that both the minds are correct so far as they themselves and their peculiar positions with reference to the thing in question are concerned. Viewed thus, the formulae of the seven modes does not seek to maintain the presence of contraries in an object but wants to accommodate two different points of view of two perceiving minds. This certainly reveals a better understanding of the problems involved.

The fact appears to be that with the background of the genuine Ahimsā doctrine, the Jaina thought simply could not adopt the un-

compromising attitude towards the problem of true and complete knowledge. Thus 'Syād-asti' has a reference to the Satkāryavāda of the Sāṃkhyas, while 'Syāt-nāsti' has a reference to the Śūnya-vāda of the Bauddhas. Similarly 'syat-asti ca nāsti ca' has a reference to the Vaiśeṣikas and 'Syāt-avaktavyah' has a reference to the Vedānta view. Its humility is seen reflected in its analysis and in the logic of the seven modes, the Sapta-bhaṅgi-naya as it is called. One is tempted to think that with this approach not only is mental Ahimsā observed, but the thinking mind is perhaps nearer the truth, than what its adversaries are likely to grant.

This humility, this comprehensiveness and regard for the other views, a really genuine tolerant attitude, therefore, may be regarded as the significant contribution of the Jaina thought to epistemological theories in ancient Indian thought.

CONTRIBUTION OF JAINISM TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

(With Special Reference to Ontology)

Dr. Mohan Lal Mehta,

Jainism, no doubt, holds certain principles in common with Hinduism, but this does not disprove the independent origination and free development of the philosophy of Jainism. If the Jaina philosophy has some similarities with the other Indian philosophical systems, it has its own peculiarities as well. The Hindu or Brāhmanic schools accept the authority of the Vedas and Vedic works. The Jainas (and the Buddhists, too) recognise the authority of their own Āgamas and Āgamic works.

The Jaina philosopher generally makes no distinction among *sat*, *tattva*, *dravya*, *artha*, *padārtha*, *tattvārtha* etc. The other Indian philosophers do not do so. The Vaiśeṣika uses the term '*padārtha*' for *dravya*, *guṇa*, *karma*, *sāmānya*, *viśeṣa* and *samavāya*; but the term '*artha*' is reserved only for the first three.¹ The Naiyāyika calls the sixteen principles as *sat*.² The Sāṅkhya regards *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* as *tattva*. The Jaina mentions the words '*sat*', '*artha*', '*padārtha*', '*tattva*' etc. as almost synonyms for Reality.

Reality is defined by the Jaina as possessing origination, decay and permanence³ or as having qualities and modes.⁴ Origination and decay are nothing but the changing modes. permanence is the same as the essential qualities. Thus, Reality is possessed of both change and permanence. Here arises a question: How can change and permanence, which are contradictory, live in one and the same thing? The Jaina philosopher says that permanence is not to be understood as absolute changelessness. Similarly, change is not to be taken as absolute difference. Permanence means indestructibility of the essential nature (quality) of a substance.⁵ Change means origination and destruction of different modes. Reality is transitory as well as permanent, different as well as identical. No object can be absolutely

1. Vaiśeṣika-sūtra, 1.1.4; 8.2.3.

2. Nyāya-bhāṣya, 1.11.

3. Tattvārtha-sūtra, 5.30.

4. Ibid., 5.38.

5. Ibid., 5.31.

destroyed, nothing can be absolutely permanent. The modes (*par-yāyas*) change, whereas the essential characteristics (*guṇas*) remain the same.

Our experience tells us that no object is absolutely identical. We experience this also that the differences are not absolutely scattered. Jainism accepts this commonsense view and maintains that the identity or permanence exists in the midst of all the varying modes or differences. There is no reason to call in question the reality of the changes or of the identity, as both are perceived facts. Every entity is subject to change and maintains its identity throughout its career. Thus, Reality is a synthesis of opposites-identity and difference, permanence and change.

The Vedāntist starts with the premise that Reality is one permanent universal conscious existence. The Vaibhāṣika and the Sautrāntika believe in atomic particulars and momentary ideas, each being absolutely different from the rest and having nothing underlying them to bind them together. The Naiyāyika and the Vaiśeṣika hold particularity and universality to be combined in an individual, though they maintain that the two characters are different and distinct. A Real, according to them, is an aggregate of the universal, i.e. identity and the particular, i.e. difference, and not a real synthesis. The Jaina differs from all these Indian philosophers and holds that the universal and the particular are only distinguishable traits in an object which is at once identical with and different from both. A Real, according to him, is neither a particularity nor a universality exclusively but a synthesis which is different from both separately and jointly though embracing them in its fold.¹

There are six ultimate substances or eternal Reals in the Jaina metaphysics: 1. Soul (*jīva*), 2. Matter (*pudgala*), 3. Medium of Motion (*dharmā*), 4. Medium of Rest (*adharma*), 5. Space (*ākāśa*), 6. Time (*Kāla*). The souls are infinite (*ananta*) in number and each soul has innumerable (*asaṅkhyeya*), indivisible parts (*pradeśas*).² By contraction and expansion of these parts the soul is capable of occupying different bodies like the light of a lamp that occupies a small room as well as a big hall.³ It can occupy the smallest possible body of a bacterium or the largest possible body of a whole. No other school of Indian philosophy regards the soul as equal in extent to the body it occupies. Jainism maintains that even the emancipated souls, which have no physical forms, since they are not possessed of bodies, have the psychi-

1. Aṣṭasāhaśrī, pp. 147-8.

2. Tattvārtha-sūtra, 5.8.

3. Ibid., 5.16.

cal forms of their last bodies. Though the liberated souls possess their own forms and maintain their individuality, there is perfect equality among them. They do not obstruct one another. Jainism does not believe in personal God. Every soul, which is capable of salvation, is possessed of the innate nature of Godliness. It can attain the state of Godhead through right belief, right knowledge and right conduct. This state is nothing more than final liberation. All the liberated souls are essentially equal. None of them enjoys any privilege. Every emancipated soul perfectly shines with infinite knowledge, infinite intuition, infinite bliss and infinite power.

Matter consists of two forms: atoms (*anus* or *paramāṇus*) and molecules (*skandhas*). The indivisible material particle is called atom. It is the smallest possible form of matter.¹ Each and every atom possesses touch, taste, smell and colour and is potentially capable of forming earth, water, fire and air. There are no distinct and different kinds of atoms of earth etc., i.e. the atoms are ultimately not different. Airy atoms can be converted into water, watery atoms can be converted into fire and so on. Ultimately, all the atoms belong to one and the same class, viz., the class of matter. Sometimes they form earth, sometimes they form water and so on. All this depends upon certain conditions and combinations. Air can be converted into a bluish liquid by continuous cooling, just as steam can be converted into water. Thus, according to Jainism, earth, water, fire and air are not ultimately separate and independent entities but only different forms of matter. There are no ultimate qualitative differences among them. The school of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika does not agree to this view of Jainism. It regards earth, water, fire and air as absolutely different and independent substances, and hence, their atoms are also ultimately distinct and different.

A combination of atoms is known as molecule. It possesses a gross form and undergoes the processes of union and division. The manifestations of molecules are found in the form of different kinds of body, organs of speech, sound, heat, light, darkness, shade etc.² Some Indian philosophers like the Vaiśeṣika etc. associate sound with ether. The Jaina does not accept this view. He explains the creation of sound as due to the violent contact of one material object with another. A single molecule cannot produce sound. Darkness is a positive entity existing independent of light. The Naiyāyika and the Vaiśeṣika maintain that the existence of darkness is nothing more than the non-existence of light. Darkness is not a positive reality but the mere

1. Sarvārthasiddhi, 5.25.

2. Tattvārtha-sūtra, 5.19–20, 24.

negation of light. The Jaina holds that darkness enjoys an independent existence. It is as real as light.

No other Indian philosophical school than Jainism admits that karma is also material. According to the Jaina conception, karma is an aggregate of very fine material particles imperceptible to our senses. The entire cosmos is full of that kind of matter which can take the form of karma. Through the actions of body and mind the kārmic matter gets into the soul and is tied to it according to the modifications of consciousness consisting of passions. In the state of bondage the soul and karma are more intimate than milk and water.

The Medium of Motion is helpful in the movement of the souls and matter. Though the souls and matter are possessed of the capacity of movement, they cannot move unless the medium of motion is present in the universe. As water helps fish in swimming, the medium of motion assists the souls and matter in their movement. This substance is formless and exists every where in the universe. The auxiliary cause of rest to the souls and matter is known as the Medium of Rest. It is also formless¹ and pervades the whole of the universe. The conception of the media of motion and rest as two separate substances is a unique contribution of Jainism to the Indian philosophy.

That which provides accommodation to the souls, matter, the media of motion and rest and time is called Space. It is also formless and all-pervasive. It consists of two divisions: universe-space (*lokā-kāśa*) and non-universe-space (*alokākāśa*). That space in which all the other five substances exist is known as universe-space. That which is beyond this universe-space and has nothing in it is called non-universe-space.² It is empty space or pure space. No other Indian philosophical system believes in such an empty space.

Time is the auxiliary cause of change. The souls etc., which are by their own nature in the process of constant change accompanied by continuity, are helped by time. Or as the media of motion and rest are helpful in the movement and stoppage of the souls and matter, time is helpful in the origination and destruction, i.e. modifications of the souls etc. In other words, the function of time is to assist the other substances in their continuity of being through gradual changes or modifications. Unlike the medium of motion etc. time is not a single continuous substance. The particles of time (times) exist throughout the universe-space, each time-particle being located in each space-point. The innumerable substances (particles) existing

1. Without touch, taste, smell and colour.

2. *Dravyasaṅgraha*, 19.

one by one in every point of the universe-space, like heaps of jewels, are the units of time.¹ They are formless. Thus, according to Jainism, time is not one substance but comprises innumerable substances. It consists of innumerable minute (indivisible) particles which never mix up with one another. This conception, though not very sound, is a unique one in the history of Indian philosophy.

Thus, Jainism has contributed a number of original ontological concepts to enrich the philosophical thought of India. Similarly, many of its epistemological and ethical doctrines are also original ones.



1. *Ibid.*, 22.

THE JAIN CONCEPT OF AHIMŚĀ

Dr. Purushottam Lal Bhargava

The principle of *ahimśā* or non-injury to all living beings arose in our country when, with the gradual advancement of civilization, the people developed finer feelings in regards to their obligation to those in the midst of whom they lived. That is why as early as the period of the Atharvaveda there were already people who looked with disfavour upon meat as an article of food¹ because it involved killing of animals. In the Upaniṣadic period the idea of *ahimśā* had become quite familiar and the Chāndogya Upaniṣad mentions it among five cardinal virtues.² The Vaiṣṇavas also laid great emphasis on *ahimśā*. The Bhagavadgītā, the great scripture of Vaiṣṇavism, recounts a number of qualities which belong to a man who is born with the divine properties and one of these is *ahimśā*.³

The Buddhists and the Jains, however, carried the concept of *ahimśā* to its perfection. The Buddha laid great emphasis on *śīla* or good conduct which meant the observance of ten rules, five of which were compulsory for both the laymen and the monks. Among these five one was *ahimśā*. The teachings of Buddha were carried to every corner by the great emperor Aśoka who laid great emphasis on *ahimśā* and not only preached but himself practised it. Thousands of animals were formerly killed every day for the imperial kitchen but Aśoka stopped it. In latter ages, however, when Buddhism spread in a number of countries outside India strict observance of *ahimśā* became a thing of the past. The greatest emphasis on *ahimśā* was laid by Jainism, and the followers of this religion still observe it very meticulously. Though the last Tirthaṅkara or prophet of Jainism was Mahāvira, this religion was probably founded much earlier by Nemi-nātha who is regarded by Jains as a contemporary of Kṛṣṇa. Nothing is known about his teachings but the next Tirthaṅkara, Pārśvanātha, enjoined on his followers four great vows, viz., *ahimśā* or non-injury, *satya* or truthfulness, *asteya* or nonstealing and *aparigraha* or non-possession of property. To these four vows the last Tirthaṅkara Mahāvira added *brahmacharya* or continence. Of these the vow of

1. II, 70.1.

2. III, 17.4.

3. XVI, 1-3.

ahimśā has been given the greatest importance and has been called the highest virtue (*paramo dharmah*).

It is often thought that Jainism has carried the doctrine of *ahimśā* to its logical conclusion and has thus made it impracticable for ordinary laymen. It is true that Jain monks are expected to observe this vow in an extreme form. The monks of the Śvetāmbara sect even keep their mouths covered for fear of breathing in minute insects which cannot even be seen with naked eyes. However the rules of *Ahimśā* for laymen as prescribed by Jainism are by no means impracticable or unreasonable. Jainism no doubt prohibits deliberate and calculated injury to any being or wanton slaughter of animals. But for laymen it has made three exceptions. A householder or a housewife has to keep his or her house neat and clean and the body and soul together. For this the house has to be swept, the grain has to be ground or pounded and finally cooked, and water has to be stored in jars. If all this involves unintentional killing of minute creatures, there is no violation of the principle of *ahimśā*. Similarly though one should not adopt a profession like that of a butcher or fisherman which is founded on *himśā* or killing of animals, one may some times be led to unavoidable injury to animals even in other professions. A farmer, for example, has to protect his crop from pests. This kind of injury to life is also not regarded as a violation of the principle of *ahimśā*. The third exception which Jainism has made for laymen is the injury which one inflicts on another being in self-defence. If somebody attacks you and you injure or kill the aggressor in self-defence, you do not violate the principle of *ahimśā*. When these three exceptions are taken into account the Jain concept of *ahimśā* remains by no means impracticable. We can in fact, call it a precious contribution not only to Indian Culture but also to the well-being of the entire humanity.

SOME CHIEF CHARACTERISTICS OF THE JAIN CONCEPT OF NON-VIOLENCE

Dr. D.N. Bhargava

Ahiṃsā—negation of himsā:

Ahiṃsā or non-violence is a negative word; it indicates the negation of that which is unnatural (*vibhāva*) as against that which is natural (*bhāva*). It means that non-violence is the negation of the unnatural and at the same time the affirmation of that which is natural.

A question may be asked as to why a negative term has been preferred to a positive term like love or compassion, if both the negation of the unnatural and the affirmation of the natural were intended to be connoted by a term? In fact, it would have been more natural and appropriate to use a positive term. We know that in other religions, like Christianity and Buddhism, positive terms like love and compassion have been actually preferred.

The approach of Jainism in this respect is peculiar, it asserts that we cannot speak of the positive aspect of love in our present state of mental make-up. We live a life, without a taste of what is natural. Unfamiliar as we are with the positive aspect of non-violence, if one speaks in positive term, we are likely to be misguided. If we speak of love, we can think of one form or the other of attachment only. It was, therefore, thought fit by the Jaina thinkers to speak in negative terms like non-violence or non-attachment rather than using the positive terms like love and compassion, though, they also occasionally use positive terms like affection (*vātsalya*) or compassion (*karuṇā*). This emphasis on negative terms, however, should never be taken to mean that the Jainas conceived of non-violence as a void state of mind, where there is no love.

Non-violence a natural instinct:

What do the Jainas mean when they speak of violence as unnatural and non-violence as natural? let us take a gross example. If one throws a man into the river, his action is not natural. We always presume that it should have some immediate or distinct cause. If one, on the other hand, saves another man from drowning into a river, we do not require an explanation for it. We presume that, if a man knows swimming and sees another man drowning, he saves him even

without any previous familiarity with the drowning man. We, however, do not presume that any man will push another man into river without any previous enmity with him. It means that love or non-violence is inherent in the nature of things. It would be seen that this is a concept which is opposed to the Darwinian concept of survival of the fittest. That the bigger fish swallows the smaller fish, is true of the physical world only, which includes our bodies also. But inherent in our hearts is a natural desire to help others and not to torment them.

Morality and non-violence:

The example which is given above by way of explanation of naturalness of non-violence is indeed very gross. If we analyse and go deep, we find that even such action as these of saving a drowning man are not without some ulterior motives. These good acts are also a part of our habits which we have acquired from the society, in which we live. It means that even such good acts are not really speaking natural to man; they are results of impression (*saṃskāras*) which we gather from our surroundings. While performing such acts, we are motivated by such ideas as such and such actions are good and that they will lead to good results in this life and in the life hereafter. These actions are not the examples of real non-violence. They may be spoken of as practical non-violence. In reality, however, non-violence is not an act but an attitude. This has sometimes led to a wrong identification of non-violence with inaction.

Moral acts are also reactions:

The fact is that all our actions are reactions to some situation. They are, therefore, not natural to us. If we place a man in favourable circumstances, he acts rightly. But, if we place the same person in adverse circumstances, the same person acts wrongly. This person is a slave of circumstances. Even his good actions are not natural to him. They are reactions to some outward circumstance. Non-violence is as natural as good smell to a flower. Flower emits good smell unmindful of the fact, whether the smell is desirable to others or not and whether those who receive it are grateful to him or not. It emits smell equally to one who plucks and crushes it. Its good smell is not conditional. It is unconditional and unmindful of its surroundings.

The eternal law of give-and-take & non-possessiveness:

This non-violent man may appear to be mad or even violent to a person, who is habituated of love in the world of give-and-take. This

man may not react to some of our good gestures and may hurt our feelings giving the feeling that he is indifferent to us. But non-violence remains outside the circle of give-and-take, which is spoken of as eternal rule—ददाति प्रतिगृह्णात्येष धर्मः सनातनः.

The world of give-and-take pre-supposes three things.

1. The giver who gives things.
2. The things which are given.
3. The recipient who receives.

Now this is based on the idea of possessiveness or ownership. I must possess the things, before I can give it to anybody. But this very idea of ownership is based on violence inasmuch as, one who possesses the things becomes more important than his possession. He predominates over his possession. But the idea of pre-dominance is essentially connected with violence. The idea of non-violence is based on freedom, where none pre-dominates over other. Thus the very basis of give-and-take, is possession which is against the concept of freedom, essential for non-violence.

Inter-relations in the society and non-violence:

The idea of give-and-take is based not only on ownership, but also on inter-relationship of one person with the other. Non-violence, however, is the intrinsic nature of man. It is, therefore, not dependent even on the existence of the other, not to speak of the action of others. To stretch the example quoted above a little further, the flower emits good smell equally not only for its friend and foe but also when it is all alone and there is none to receive its smell.

The world of relationship is a world of attachment and aversion. But non-violence is possible and possible only without inter-relationship, because inter-relationship is dependent on others and cannot be natural.

It is clear from what has been said above that any distinction between good and bad from the point of view of non-violence, is not possible. It may imply that this philosophy obliterates the distinction between good and bad and thereby creates chaos in the society. The fact is that this philosophy is independent of society. When we dive deep, we find that if we accept a difference between good and bad, we cannot remain neutral and are bound to become victims of attachment or aversion. This provides sound philosophical basis for naturality.

Anekāntavāda: Neutrality in the field of thought:

Another theory which provides the sound basis for neutrality in the field of thought is *anekāntavāda*—the non-absolutism.

We know that the line of distinction between right and wrong is very thin. *Anekānta*, therefore, says that no ism can claim absolute truth for itself, and no ism can be condemned as absolutely wrong. Every statement has an intermixture of right and wrong. We have to adopt, an attitude of neutrality towards two apparently contradictory statements. It is not a case of *indisiciveness* but a case of clear understanding of what is right and what is wrong in a statement. We would find that there is no occasion for dispute, if we look at things from this angle.

Conclusion:

To conclude, we find that the idea of non-violence in Jainism is based on the following presumption:—

- (I) Every man is basically non-violent.
- (II) Non-violence falls outside the inter-relationship of one member of the society and other member of the society.
- (IV) The idea of inter-relationship or ownership is incoherent with the idea of non-violence.
- (V) Any statement and every statement can be interpreted both ways—rightly and wrongly. Wrong interpretation leads to violence, whereas right interpretation removes all dispute.

Unfortunately these conceptions have been very much misunderstood. The concept of supra-morality, for example, has been confused with immorality. The independence of non-violence has been interpreted as anti-social attitude. The idea of non-possession has been condemned as impractical without going into the fact that non-possession is an attitude towards life and is not to be confused with the idea that we should do away with the worldly objects. The philosophy of non-absolutism has been, again, presented as scepticism and *indisiciveness*.

I hold that any discussion on non-violence would be fruitful, if it can dispel these misconceptions and this seems to me to be the utmost need of the day.



SOME OFF-SHOOTS OF THE AHIMŚĀ AS IMPLIED IN THE JAIN PHILOSOPHY

By

Prof. M.G. Dhadphale

The Religion of the Jains is so called because it is believed to be the religion of the Conquerors or the Victors (*Jinas*). The Victors are those who have subdued their passions¹ and have obtained complete mastery over themselves. Now, Gotama, the founder of Buddhism also preached and practised a somewhat similar doctrine of curbing the feelings of attachment, ill-will, hatred and the like. But for preaching such a doctrine of annihilation of feelings etc. he was, as per the accounts accused of 'repressionism'. Māgandiya, the wandering ascetic who was all for giving full scope to feelings and emotions and all the six spheres of senses, scoffed at the Samana Gotama and called him even a *bhūnahu*, a word of definitely deep contempt. According to this paribbājaka, it is not proper to sneer at a person whose pleasures *we may dub* as merely 'low' (*hīna*). So much disgusted was he with Samana Gotama that he did not wish even to see the sleeping place of the latter. Said Māgandiya: Indeed, good Bhāradvāja, we are seeing a poor sight in seeing the sleeping place of Gotama, 'the destroyer of growth, (*bhūnahuno*). This term *bhūnahu* which in Vedic tradition (*bhrūṇahan*) means 'a killer of an embryo' is interpreted slightly differently in Pali tradition so as to mean 'the killer of growth(s)' or 'the maker of stringent controls or rules' (MA.III.211 *hatavaḍḍhino mariyādakārakassa...vaḍḍhihato mariyā-dakārako*).²

(1) Especially *rāga* and *dveṣa* the two main-doors through which evil may enter in (the soul.)

(2) Lord Chalmers translates *bhūnahu* occurring in the above passage from M. as 'rigid repressionist' and elsewhere (M.I. 502) as 'Puritanical'. The word occurs also at Sn. 664. in vocative (SnA. 479 *bhūtihanaka vuḍḍhināsaka*) and at Jā. V. 266. in plural. See Jā ĀV. 272. *te isīnam ativattāro attano vuḍḍhivā hatattā bhunahuno*. In Miln. 314. the word occurs in the form *bhūtahacca* and the M. passage containing Māgandiya's views is quoted. Gotama is also charged for being a *Venayika* (q.v. PTSD) i.e. 'a perverter' or 'a leader away'. Acco. to I.B. Horner (Middle Length Sayings. II. p. XV) 'it is not impossible to see between it (i.e. *Venayika*) and *bhūnahu*, some basic similarity of intention.'

Now, some one may naturally think that when Buddhism, a much milder and moderate version of asceticism as compared to Jainism, was accused of 'repressionism' even at a time when all sorts of severe austerities were in vogue, how much more will Jainism be liable to this accusation in the modern times, when the climate is so very favourable to the feeding of passions? When an ascetic like Māgandiya could think in the sixth cent. B.C. that there should be development and growth in all the six sense spheres and that what the ascetics call 'the curbing of the passions', 'killing the flesh' and 'annihilation of egoism' is only a killing of natural growth and development of human personality, will not the modern psychotherapists support him and even compliment him for having anticipated them centuries ago?

Yes, there are as usual two ways of looking at a thing and in the present context I may characterise them as 'the way of Māgandiya' and 'the way of Upāli'. May it be noted that at a time when Māgandiya tried to abuse Gotama by using a term which for him was a derogatory one, Upāli in the same period, tried to eulogize Gotama by using the selfsame term, i.e. *venayika* (M.I. 386). In modern era we come across the successors of both Māgandiya and Upāli.

That the Jainist *ethics* and *ascetics* and their concept of Non-Violence in particular are all in complete conformity with their metaphysical binary classification of categories into *Jīva* and *Ajīva*, everyone will admit. The respect for life which is the substance of Jainist Ahimśā and which is ultimately rooted in its *hylozoism* is a doctrine commendably consistent. The acceptance of the principle of reciprocity resulting in exhorting people 'to treat others as they would like to be treated' is a principle which Jainism shares with many other great religions of the world. Yet what may appear as inconsistent to many is that when treatment to one's own self is to be made the basis of the treatment to be given to others and when the others are not to be injured by words, feelings and acts,¹ how can self-hurting be justified in one's own

(1) The Ayāranga-sutta 1.4.11. and 5.5.4. "You yourself are the (being) which you intend to kill....to ill-use....to insult.... to torment....to persecute".

*yo ca kāyena vācāya manasā ca na hiṃsati
sa ve ahimśako hoti, yo param na vihiṃsati*

(S.I. 165. PTS. Ed.)

He who does not harm (others) by his body, speech and mind is indeed a Nonviolent (in other words) one who does not harm (kill) others.

case, which seems to be implied in the practice of *Sanivara* and *nirjara*? In short one may think that Jainism which puts the utmost emphasis on the avoidance of inflicting pain to others in whatever form, curiously enough gives recognition to self-mortification and self-persecution. One may legitimately ask: If we should not harm others why should we harm ourselves?¹

The above, in all probability will be in modern times, the *pūrvapakṣa* directed against the Jainist *ethics* and *ascetics*. It is the aim of this paper to try to understand the substance of this charge and to try to vindicate the Jainist *Ahimsā* and asceticism against this charge.

It should be first affirmed that a Jain, true to his intellectual discipline of *syādvāda* will hardly be offended by any such charge of 'repressionism'. He knows that there can be a valid argument for supporting any formal position. He knows that in the present psychological atmosphere there is a growing and healthy respect for 'feeling' and 'emotion' as an integral part of the person. The modern trend is that a man should integrate his feelings with values and should not repress them. The Jain will only be sorry that people perhaps think that Jainism does not honour this trend. Really speaking the psychology of asceticism is yet to be closely analysed. It has two aspects: positive and negative. Jainism reveals the positive aspect where constructive effects of the various ascetical practices on the religious personalities are analysed. In the other, negative aspect, the attention is focussed mainly on the immature and pathological aspects of such practices. In the light of this analysis the Jain can always point out to his opponent, that in Jainism the negative aspect of the psychology of asceticism is virtually *nil*. From the available religious biographies of the Jain practitioners one can hardly point out any similarities in the ascetical behaviour and the behaviour of the neurotic and psychotic patients. A morose and gloomy temperament is a sure sign (conse-

(1) Someone may even say that when the Āgamas (Uttar. 18-19.) condemn the association with women in such words as "Do not desire (women), those female demons, on whose breasts grow two lumps of flesh" etc. it does result in a kind of *vācikā himsā* (killing by words) of women. Well! It depends much on how we interpret such passages. To me, the purport of such passages seems not so much to hurt the women as to safeguard the interest of the ascetics. The same mode of interpretation as adopted by Rāmānuja in interpreting the Pāñcarātra passage '*caturṣu vedeṣu param śreyo*' *labdhvā Saṇḍilya idaṁ śāstraṁ adhigatavān* (B.S.II.2.) should be resorted to. Here as also in Cha. Up. VII-1.2-3. it is not the *Vedanindā* which is so much intended as the *vakṣyamāṇa-vidyāpraśamsā*.

quence) of repression but nowhere do we find the presence of it in the Jainist ascetics. On the contrary, we find the Jain ascetics quite hopeful about their blissful emancipation, quite confident about getting rid of the *karman*. Between masochism which is a perversion by which pain and suffering become sources of sexual pleasure or of thinly disguised substitutes for it and the Jainist denial of the enjoyment of sensuous pleasures, the similarity is more apparent than real.

In the cases of suppression, the feelings and the emotions which are driven under the surface by denial or distortion continue to exert their influence on the person (i.e. psychosomatically). But this cannot be the case with the Jain *Vitarāga*. Jainism never aimed at removing the symptoms. This is often ineffective, for, one symptom may only be replaced by another. Jainism has, therefore, taken the wiser course of coping with the dynamic roots of the symptoms which lie deep in the emotional life of the individual. Everyone likes to have pleasure and Jainism ultimately aims at the accomplishment of the blissful state of the self. In this it is strikingly parallel with the Vedānta.¹ Buddhist Tipiṭaka also at times (on very few occasions of course) turns to the discussion of 'the self being dear to the individual' as also 'of seeking

(1) The success and the popularity of the Vedānta doctrine is due in no small measure to this 'self-regard'. If, as some modern psychologists believe, the man is 'by nature' *selfish* it is because he has (is) self. It is, therefore, impossible to remove *selfishness*. Our aim should be to replace 'petty selfishness' (*ahaṁkāra*, egoism) with 'Grand Selfishness' (which in other terms is the sublimation of egoistic feeling). '*Ahaṁ Brahmāsmi*' is a 'Grand Selfishness'. Again, everyone loves one's self. The Br. Up. (4.5.6.) clearly says: Lo verily not for the love of all, all is dear (to man,); for the love of Self alone, is all dear (to him.) *na vā, are, sarvasya kāmāya sarvaṁ priyaṁ bhavati, ātmanastu kāmāya sarvaṁ priyaṁ bhavati*. The import of this is that the love that one bears to anything is to be regarded as an aspect of the love one bears to one's own self. We like other persons and things because S(s)elf is mirrored in them. Again, everyone, likes his soul (existence) to continue and the Vedānta assures the immortality of the self. Instead of calling men as 'Ye Oh, mortals' it addresses them as the 'sons of the Immortal', *ā no śṛṇudhvaṁ amṛtasya putrāḥ*. Jainism, shares with the Vedānta the *jīvātman*, if not the *Paramātman*. Buddhism repudiates both the *jīva* as well as the *Brahman* and yet sometimes speaks about *amata* and *ananta*.

the self' but such passages, are abruptly ended.¹ In consequence Buddhism harps only on the negative side, i.e. of doing away with craving (*tanha*) or of not taking recourse to *upādāna* (hankering). Probably as a radical means to remove selfishness Buddhism tried to get rid of 'self'. But the denial of self brought untold difficulties into the scheme. Who should dispel 'thurst'? 'The five aggregates (*pāncas-kandhas*) will perhaps be the only answer but not a very satisfactory one.'²

Now, about the severity in the Jain asceticism. It is true that the Jain idea of *tapas* is a severe one. But for the same reason it should be called more heroic. It is a rigourism. It is interesting to note that the Greek noun from which the term 'asceticism' is derived means, in the first place, 'an exercise, a practice'. The Buddha also emphasised the same aspect viz. *padhāna* (efforts) and *ātappa* (ardent zeal.) both of which imply a strenuous training of mind and body. In the whole of the Greek literature the image of *an athlete* and of *a soldier* are sensible.³ As for Jainism, it has always expressed asceticism by the image of a 'hero' (*vīra*) or a 'soldier' (*arihanta*). Ample scope to heroic impulse is thus given.

1. We also find in the udāna (p.47.PTS.Ed.) the following *gāthā*:

sabbā disā anuparigamma cetasā /
nevajjhagā piyataramattano kvaci
evaṃ piyo puthu attā paresaṃ
tasmā na himse paramattakāmo //

[Having gone (mentally) to all the directions I did not find anywhere, anyone, dearer than myself. Thus, the self (or soul) must be dear to every other individual (and), therefore, one who loves his own self, should not harm(kill) other(s)]

(2) I am aware of the attempts made to prove that the 'repudiation of self' is quite consistent with the Buddhist ideal of the permanency of *Nirvāṇa*. I shall only say, I am not convinced of the truth of this.

(3) For the idea of a 'spiritual athlete' who disciplines himself constantly and consciously see Aristophanes, Plut. 585; Plato, Rep. 403E-; Xenophon, Mem. 1.2.24; Plutarch, *De gen Socr.* 24 593D. For the image of a 'spiritual soldier' mark Thucydides. 2.39; 5.67; Xenophon Cyn. 8.1.34.

Unfortunately, however, detachment from the comforts and enticements of the world, the stress on the *apatheia* (to use the Stoic expression only in the sense of 'subduing the passions') and the exhortation to accept every hardship in the pursuit of this ideal are all misconstrued to mean that the Jains aimed at achieving happiness through suffering (*dukkhena kho sukham adhigantabbam*). But, it is a fact, that to gain happiness one is required to pay a price also. It will be difficult to gainsay this and to the question of the king Milinda as to whether *nibbāna* is *sukha* or *dukkha*, Nāgasena was obliged to answer that the nature of *nibbāna* is *sukha* yet the way of attaining to it is *dukkha* (painful.). The illustration with which the sage Nāgasena tries to convince the king of the above fact can aptly be the illustrations of any Jain expositor.¹ In practising *saṁvara*, *nirjara* and different types of *tapas* the Jain practicant is not suffering for the sake of suffering but is only treating himself severely to uproot the evil of *karman*. It is not self-suffering; it is a rigorous self-discipline. The Jain asceticism is only a corollary of its metaphysical dualism viz. *jīva* and *ajīva*. The basic motive being to free the *spirit* from the defiling corruption of the *matter*. The so-called *self-chastisement* is only a step towards *self-chastity*. It is, however, true that as compared to Buddhism, Jainism lays much more stress on severe asceticism as it goes even as far as to

(1) See. Miln. 313. "Those, Nāgasena, who seek after Nirvāṇa, are seen to practise exertion, and application of body and mind, restraint in standing, walking, sitting, lying and eating, suppression of sleep, subjugation of the organs of sense, renunciation of wealth and corn, of dear relatives and friends. But all those who are joyful and happy in the world take delight in...the five pleasures of sense...Pleasurable forms...sounds..." etc. Again "You,...put a stop to and destroy, main and mangle, put a drag on and restrain, the development of your eye...ear...nose..." etc. Nāgasena's answer is: "When you, O King, maintain that *Nirvāṇa* is painful, that which you call "painful" is not *Nirvāṇa*. It is the preliminary stage (*pubbabhāga*) to the realisation of *Nirvāṇa*. He, further, points out to the king that just as gaining sovereignty is painful but not so the actual (possession) of sovereignty (which offers all sorts of pleasures) and just as the gaining of knowledge is strenuous but not so the obtainment of knowledge (which is blissful) so is the *pubbabhāga* of *Nirvāṇa* painful but not the *aparabhāga*.

recommend religious suicide.¹ Yet, I do not think it possible to analyse such tendencies in terms of *Thanatos*². The external symptoms may appear similar but the motivation is certainly different. The line of demarcation between strenuous discipline and suppression may be very thin so far as the external symptoms are concerned but the criterion to distinguish these can be found out in the marking of the ultimate effects. To clarify, the efforts which lead to sublimation and purity should be counted as discipline and those which lead no-where and end in mere destruction should be marked as the worst form of self-persecution. How the same word can be used to mark such distinct concepts, we may learn from the socio-semantic development of the root *śam* (originally 'to kill'. *Śamitā*, the priest who immolates the sacrificial animal). The word *śānti*, therefore, means both 'destruction' (killing) and 'sublimation' (peace). The Jainist asceticism is not motivated by any type of *Thanatos* or self-destructive urges of hostility, hatred and guilt. It springs from attitudes of respect, value and worth toward 'life' (*jīva*). The psychology of the Jain ascetic practices is thus a stage in the search for a psychology of human purity and spiritual perfection.³

Lastly about the so-called self-harming in Jainism. In any type of violence two principles are involved viz. the constraining and the constrained. It is wrongly thought that in Jainism self is constrained,

(1) For illustrations see Winternitz. Hist. of Indian Lit. (Calcutta 1933) Vol. II. p. 437.

(2) In Frued's later writings he specially emphasised the conflict between *Eros* (the life-prompting instincts) and *Thanatos* (the desire for death.). When directed outward, the *Thanatos* is a source of violence and destruction, when directed inward, it results in suicidal behaviour. This *Thanatos* was further generalised so as to cover not only the desire to kill but also the desire to inflict pain and to suffer pain.

(3) It must also be pointed out that even the Lord Buddha did not censure all forms of austerity (*tapas*), nor did he condemn every ascetic leading a hard-life (*lūkhājīvi*). He condemns only that which is condemnable and praises that which is praise-worthy and this entitles him to be a true 'discriminate-speaker' (*vibhajjavādī*); he is not an extremist (*ekāṃśavādī*). Read the following: *na kho, bhante, Bhagavā sabbaṃ tapaṃ garahati, na hi sabbaṃ tapassīṃ ekaṃsena upakkosati, upavadati; gārayhaṃ kho, bhante, Bhagavā garahati, paṇisaṃsitaṃ paṇisaṃsati. gārayhaṃ kho pana, bhante, garahanto, paṇisaṃsitaṃ paṇisaṃsati. vibhajjavādī Bhagavā; no kho Bhagavā ettha ekaṃsavādī.*

No. Even if we use the expression 'self-constraint'. (*ātma-samīyama* or *ātma-damana*) we have to understand it as a 'transferred epithet'. A correct perspective of the Jain doctrine of *karman* will reveal that the Jain practicant does not even 'constrain' the self. He in fact, does nothing with the self: always keeps his hands off the self. He takes the utmost care to protect the self from the external attack. It is a *gupti*, guarding of the self. We get medicines injected in our bodies not to harm our bodies but to keep them free from diseases or to cure the bodies of the diseases. The 'prevention' (*saṁvara*) and the 'cure' (*nirjara*¹) are always the obvious remedies.² Sometimes a severe treatment (*tapas*) is also required.

(1) The word *nirjara* (or *nirjarā*) is found used in Pāli in its primary sense i.e. 'causing to cease', 'to cause to decay', 'to bring to naught' etc. There is in the Aṅguttara-nikāya (Vol. V. p. 215 PTS.Ed.) a sermon named Nijjara-sutta which describes ten things (*dasa vitthāni*) which are brought to naught by the cultivation of their opposites. cf. *sammā-diṭṭhikassa micchā-diṭṭhi nijjinna*; *sammā-saṁkappassa micchā-saṁkappo nijjinno* etc., i.e. the 'false vision' is nullified by the 'right-vision' and the 'improper-intention' by the 'proper intention'.

(2) *Samīvara* is preventive; *nirjarā*, expurgatory. There are some ideas in Buddhism, in someway similar (by no means identical) to the Jainist ideal of *āsrava*, *saṁvara* and *nirjara*. Mark the following:

- (i) *Purāṇaṁ nābhinandeyya, nave khantiṁ na kubbaye*. Sn. Attadaṇḍa-sutta verse. 179.
- (ii) *khīṇaṁ purāṇaṁ nava(ṁ) na'ttthi sambhavaṁ* Khuddakapāṭha. Ratanasutta. verse. 15.
- (iii) *Savanti sabhadhi sotā, sotānaṁ kim nivāraṇaṁ sotānaṁ saṁvaraṁ brūhi...*

Sn. Ajitamāṇavapucchā (I.)
Verse. 59.

Abbreviations

A.	—Aṭṭhakathā.
B.S.	—Brahma-sūtra.
Br. Up.	—Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.
Cha. Up.	—Chāndogya Upaniṣad.
Jā.	—Jātaka.
JaA.	—Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā.
M.	—Majjhima-nikāya.

This, in fact, is Jainism always aiming at the sound health of the soul. Jainism never means a passive suffering. It is an active treatment; a self-imposed discipline.



MA.

—Majjhima-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā.

Miln.

—Milindapañha.

Sn.

—Sutta-nipāta.

SnA.

—Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā.

Uttar.

—Uttarājjhayaṇa-sutta.

NON-VIOLENCE VIS-A-VIS MAITRĪ: BUDDHIST AND JAIN APPROACH

Dr. N.H. Samtani

Buddhism and Jainism, two important religions of India, have contributed greatly to the development of social and ethical norms. Although, the former spread beyond the confines of India—land of its birth—and the latter was confined to Indian territory, their noble doctrines had remarkably influenced our society and social institutions. Among the sublime ethical doctrines which these two great religions propounded are *Ahiṃsā* (non-violence) and *Maitrī*, the former propounded by Jainism and the latter by Buddhism in all their exuberance. Although one appears to be negative in approach and the other positive, really speaking, there is much that is common in both these doctrines. The present paper discusses both these concepts presented by Jain and Buddhist writers in our literature.

First of all, let us see whether the word *ahiṃsā* is frequently mentioned in Buddhism. Instead of *ahiṃsā*, we find the use of *avihiṃsā* more frequently, although occurrence of *ahiṃsā* is also occasionally found.

In the Eightfold Path of the Buddha, we have *sammā-sankappa* (Right Resolve) as one of the constituents of the Path. Now, this is explained as *nekkhama-sankappa*, *abyāpāda-saṅkappā* and *avihiṃsā-saṅkappa* (Resolution of renunciation of desires, resolution of unmalignant thinking, and resolution of non-violence or absence of cruelty). Sometimes, we find also the use of word *avihesā*. This *avihiṃsā* or *avihesā* is explained in *Samyutta-nikāya-Aṭṭhakathā* as *sakarunabhava* (feeling of compassion). It is also interesting to note that *karuṇā* is presented in Buddhist texts as an antidote to *vihiṃsā*. *Vīryaśridatta*, while commenting on the four *brahmavihāras* says: “*Vyāpāda-bahulānām tatprahāṇāya maitrī, vihiṃsā-bahulānām tatprahāṇāya karuṇā*. (i.e. *maitrī* is an antidote for those who are overpowered by ill-will, and *karuṇā* is for those who are overpowered by (thoughts of) violence).”²

1. *Samyutta-nikāya-Aṭṭhakathā* (PTS), p. 318.
2. *Arthavinīścaya-sūtra Nibandhana* (Patna 1971), p. 196. Cf. also Buddhaghosa: *mettā byāpāda-bahulassa, karuṇā vihesā-bhāulassa. . visuddhimaggo*. Vism. IX. 108.

Vasubandhu in the commentary on *Triṃśikā* explains *avihiṃsā* as follows:—*avihiṃsā vihiṃsā-pratipakṣah. vadhabandhanādibhi sattvā-nām aviheṭhanam avihiṃsā, sattvesu karuṇā*.¹ So, here also we find *avihiṃsa* equated to *karuṇā*. Sometimes, we find in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts, *viheṭhanā* replacing *vihiṃsā* or coming along with *vihiṃsā* e.g. *so vihiṃsati, viheṭheti*. Vasubandhu in the *Abhidharma-kośa-bhāṣya* also explains *avihiṃsā* as *aviheṭhanā*.² Thus, for *ahiṃsā*, we have various words e.g. *avihiṃsā, aviheṣā, aviheṭhanā*.

However, *ahiṃsā* is also found at some places, especially more frequently in the *Dhammapada*. Some citations are given hereunder.

*ahimsakā ye muniyo, niccam kāyena saṃvuttā /
te yanti accutam ṭhānaṃ, yattha gantva na socare / /*

—Dhp. 225

(The non-violent sages, who are always restrained in body, go to the deathless state, where having reached, they grieve not) or,

*yamhi saccam ca dhammo ca, ahiṃsā saṇṇāmo damo /
sa ve vantamalo dhīro thero ti pavuccati / /*

—Dhp. 261

(In whom truth, righteousness, non-violence, restraint and self-control are found, that wise man who has cast off impurity, is indeed called 'elder'). In verse 271 of the same text, we have Jainistic ideal of *ahiṃsā* so refreshingly presented:

*na tena ariyo hoti, yena pāṇāni hiṃsati /
ahiṃsā sabbapāṇāṇaṃ, ariyo ti pavuccati / /*

—Dhp. 271

'One does not become noble (*ariya*) when one kills living beings. By harmlessness (or non-violence) towards all beings, one is called 'noble'. In verse 300 of the *Dhammapada*, disciples of Gotama are shown as delighting in non-violence:

yesam divā ca ratto ca ahiṃsāya rato mano /

In *Digh-nikāya* also, we have reference to *ahiṃsā*: “*dāne ahiṃsāya aśāhase rato dāhaṃ samādaya samattam ācari* (Bodhisattva) (delighting in charity, non-violence and thoughtful actions conducted himself impartially to beings.). *Milinda-pañha* echoes *Dhammapada* verse 5 (*na hi verena verāni* etc.) when it says:

*yo na hanti na ghātetī na jināti na jāpaye /
ahiṃsā sabbabhūtesu veram tesam na kenaci / /*³

1. *Vijñaptimātratā-Siddhi* (ed. T.C.Shastri & R.S. Tripathi, Varanasi 1972) p. 201.
2. AKB II. 25, p. 55 (Pradhan's ed.)
3. *Milindapañha*, p. 394 (Vadekar's ed.)

Interestingly, in the above verse the variant in the Burmese edition for *ahiṃsā* is *met to so*. Thus, instead of *ahiṃsā sabbabhūtesu*, we have *met to so sabbabhūtesu* in the Burmese edition.¹

Thus we see, *ahiṃsā*, *avihiṃsā*, *avihesā*, etc. find significant mention in the Buddhist texts. However, Buddhism laid great stress on more positive virtues like *maitrī* and *karuṇā*. We may say that if Jainism is *ahiṃsā-dharma*, Buddhism is *karuṇā-dharma*, especially later Buddhism with its different branches in the Mahāyāna complex. We have already stated that *ahiṃsā* is also explained as *karuṇā* at many places.²

In fact, there is no great line of demarcation between *maitrī* and *karuṇā* in Buddhism, although earlier branches of Buddhism of Hīnayāna complex are imbued with ideas of *Maitrī* and later of Mahāyāna with abundance of *karuṇā*. Thus, *ahiṃsā* in Buddhism is represented by twin concepts of *maitrī* and *Karuṇā*. There is also another concept of *Kṣānti* (forbearance, endurance) which also, in my opinion, partakes of elements of *ahiṃsā*. Now, we shall take up these concepts and discuss them in details.

Maitri

First requirement of *maitri* is complete abstinence of killing of living beings which is also enumerated as the first *kusala kamma* (out of ten). This is called *Pāṇātipātā veramaṇi*. This is the first *śīla* which is binding upon every monk and a householder. This *śīla* relates to physical non-violence. Life is dear to all and so a Buddhist does not indulge in killing of any being. He does not do to others what he wishes that others should not do to him.

sabbe tasanti danḍassa, subbesaṃ jīvitam piyaṃ |
*attānam upamaṃ katvā na haneyya na ghātaye |*³

(All fear the punishment. Life is dear to all. Comparing oneself to others, one should neither kill nor cause to kill). Now, this negative precept 'abstinence from killing' has flowered into sublime conception of *maitrī* gradually, giving place later to more altruistic one *karuṇā*. However, it is difficult to mark out the points of time in the history of ideas. Sometimes, it appears as if *ahiṃsā*, *maitrī* and *karuṇā* all were there in the earliest form of Buddhism. The very first sermon of the Buddha, "*caratha, bhikkhave, cārikaṃ bahujaṇahitāya bahujaṇasukhāya*,

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Vide supra.*

3. *Dhammapada* 129.

lokānukampāya etc.¹ have all the elements of *maitrī* and *karuṇā*. The four *brahma-vihāras* viz. *maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā* and *upekṣā* are not very later concepts in Buddhism. They are part and parcel of the Buddhist yoga. It is, however, interesting to understand these basic concepts, which, as the name '*brahmavihāra*' suggests, bring man in communion with the highest one.

Now, first, we shall take the word *maitrī* (Pali *mettā*) and see what does it convey. It is difficult to translate this important Buddhist term in English. Various renderings of this word have been suggested viz. "love", "loving-kindness", "friendliness", "good will", "benevolence", "universal love" etc. As stated above, it is one of the four *brahma-vihāras* (sublime states or divine states) often mentioned in Pali and Sanskrit Buddhist texts.

According to Har Dayal,² "Friendliness seems to indicate the content of the term *Maitrī* with a sufficient degree of accuracy. It is characterised by desire to do good to others and to provide them with what is useful". According to Ven. Narada Thera, "The graceful Pali *Mettā* can be best rendered by 'loving-kindness', 'benevolence and 'universal Love'.³ 'love' has certain associations which partake of elements of '*prema*' which is likely to lead us to attachment and lust, ultimately landing us into misery for, "grief arises from affection, so also fear."⁴ (*pemato jāyati soko, pemato jāyati bhayam*).⁵ This love (or affection) is an indirect enemy which assails *mettā* unguardingly.

The Christian conception of 'love' is however sublime but it approximates more to *karuṇā* than to *maitrī*. It has already been mentioned above that *maitrī* is extolled more frequently in Pali scripture than *karuṇā*. To quote Har Dayal again⁶, "Hīnayāna emphasises *maitrī* while Mahāyāna lays stress on *karuṇā*. As one of the *brahmavihāras*, *maitrī* is exercised through certain meditative practices. It is also termed as one of the *apramāṇas* (illimitables) because there is

1. *Mahavagga* p. 7

2. *Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, p. 227

3. "Metta or Loving-kindness" by Ven. Narada Mahā Thera, *Mahabodhi* vol. 80, no. 5, p. 223.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Dhammapada* 213.

Bodhisattva Doctrine p. 228

no barrier or limit in applying this concept towards beings including animals in the three *lokadhātus*".¹

The practice of *maitrī* is described in the Buddhist texts in the stock phraseology as thus: A bhikkhu (or Bodhisattva) abides pervading one direction of universe (and similarly the rest of the three directions) with his mind accompanied by *maitrī*, with vast, great, undivided, unlimited and universal freedom from hatred, rivalry, narrowmindedness and harmfulness".²

Maitrī is also mentioned as a power (*maitrī-bala*) in the universe. In Mahāyāna, Bauddhas are depicted as emitting the rays of *maitrī* from their bodies and diffusing over the world, thus promoting peace and joy everywhere. In the *Avadāna-śataka*, the Buddha is shown as taming the venomous serpent and tranquilizes it by the rays of *maitrī* (cultivated since the thousand *kalpas*) coming from his body.³

This *mettā* is defined as "earnestness to do good and give happiness to others" (*para-sattveṣu hitasukhādhyāśayo maitrī*).⁴ So, 'Let all beings be happy with this feeling the *maitrī* is cultivated (*yataḥ sukhitā vata santu sattvā iti manasikurvan maitrī samāpadyate*)'.⁵ *Maitrī* is an antidote to malice. It is not so much ordinary human affection even in sublimated form but as a detached and impersonal benevolence raised to the highest possible pitch of intensity.⁶

One powerful destructive vice in man is hatred (*dveṣa*). *Mettā* is the sweet and sublime virtue that takes away the poison of this evil force and sublimates man in loving-kindness. It enables one to regard the whole world as one's motherland and all as fellow beings.

The concept of *Maitrī* is often times described in fine simile of a mother and her child. Just as a mother protects her only child at the

1. Cf. *etāni ca maitryādīni apramāṇasattvāmbanatvad apramāṇāny ucyante*—Arthaviniścaya-sūtra Commy. p. 195. Also cf. *appamāṇā hi sattā etāsam gocarabhūtā*, Vism. IX. 110.

2. *iha, bhikṣavo, bhikṣu, maitrīśahagatena cittena avaireṇāsapatnenā-vyābadhenāvīpulena mahadgatenāpramāṇena subhāvitena ekam diśam samadhimuccya sphuritvā upasampadya vihasati*—Arthaviniścaya-sūtra, p. 19.

3. Cf. *kalpasahasra-paribhāvitāśca maitryaṁsavah utsrṣṭāḥ, yairayas sprṣṭa-mātram sarīram prahlāditam*.—*Avadāna-śataka* (ed. P.L. Vaidya), p. 129.

4. *Asu. Comy*, p. 193

5. *Ibid.*

6. Cf. Sangharakshita: *Survey of Buddhism*, p. 160

risk of her life, even so one should cultivate boundless loving-kindness towards all beings:

*matā yathā niyaṃ puttāṃ āyusā ekaputtāṃ anurakkhe |
evaṃ pi sabbabhūtesu mānasaṃ bhāvaye aparimāṇaṃ | |
mettaṃ ca sabbalokasmiṃ mānasam bhāvaye aparimāṇaṃ |
uddhaṃ addho ca tirayaṃ ca asambādhaṃ averaṃ asapattaṃ ||*¹

Now, it may be noted that it is not the passionate love of mother towards her child that is stressed but her sincere wish for the genuine welfare of the child.

Karuṇā

Another concept, which is allied to *Maitrī* is *karuṇā*, which also is one of the *brahmavihāras*. The whole Mahāyāna Buddhism is saturated with the concept of *karuṇā*. *Karuṇā* is the quintessence of later ramifications of Buddhism. It is altruism par excellence. Various renderings of this word are offered, viz. 'pity', 'love', 'compassion', 'mercy' etc. But no rendering will convey the sweetness of this sublime concept. Mahāyānists have waxed eloquent in the praise of *karuṇā*. The Buddha is described as *mahākāruṇika*. *Mahākāruṇā* is also mentioned as one of the special attributes of the Buddha as are the ten *balas*, the four *vaiśāradyas* and the eighteen *āveṇika-dharmas*. According to the *Prajñāpāramitā-sāstras*, *Sikṣāsamuccaya* and other Mahāyāna texts, Bodhisattva shows *karuṇā* chiefly by resolving to suffer the torments and agonies of the dreadful purgatories during innumerable aeons, if need be, so that he may lead all beings to perfect enlightenment.² *Maitrī* and *karuṇā* are at the root of the enlightenment (*bodhi*).

Kṣānti

Another conception in Buddhism, which approximates to non-violence is *kṣānti*. The word has been rendered as 'forbearance', 'patience', 'meekness', etc. Keith and Suzuki interpret it as "not feeling dejected in the face of evil"³. It is always described as the opposite

1. *Sutta-nipāta*, 149-50.

2. Cf. *sarvasattvānāṃ anuttarajñānarājya-pratiṣṭhāpanārtham ahaṃ carāmi, nāham kevalam ātamparimocanābhīyuktah... yāvād utsahe' ahaṃ sarvāpayeṣu sarvalokadhātuparyāpanneṣu sarvadukṣha-vāsam anubhavitum*—*Sikṣāsamuccaya* (P.L. Vaidya's ed.) p. 148.

3. A.B. Keith: *Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon*, p. 260; D.T. Suzuki: *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, p. 69.

of *krodha*, *pratigha*, *vyāpāda*. *Kṣānti* is one of the *pāramitās* in Buddhism. Bauddhas are supposed to be ocean of forbearance, and gentle forbearance is their spiritual garment. A bodhisattva is the greatest forgiver and embodiment of forbearance. Even if his body is destroyed and cut up in the hundred pieces with swords and spears, he does not conceive any angry thought against his cruel persecutors.¹ In short, a bodhisattva is a paragon of virtue of forgiveness and his forgiveness is unfailing, universal and absolute even as a mother Earth suffers in silence all that may be done to her.²

Owing to limitations of space, it is not possible to present this sublime concept in details. Various beautiful stories describing the virtues of *kṣānti* have been given in Buddhist texts. Special mention may be made of the story of Purṇa which shows to what extent the forbearance of an individual can go.³ In fact, *kṣānti*, is one of the most favourite themes of Buddhist story tellers.

Now, these concepts of *maitrī*, *karuṇā* and *kṣānti* are nothing but non-violence in its fulness and perfection. They include physical, vocal and mental aspects of non-violence. This is the Buddhist approach to non-violence.

Let us, now, see how Jainism interprets non-violence and seek to find out the meeting ground in Buddhist and Jain concepts, if any.

Ahiṃsā is the central theme of Jainism. In Jain literature, the word 'dharma' is synonymous with *ahiṃsā*. Jain dharma is identical with *Ahiṃsā* dharma. *Ahiṃsā* is so central in Jainism that it may be incontrovertibly called the beginning and the end of religion.⁴ The whole of Jain Ācāra is derived from this principle. The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* exhorts us to regard *ahiṃsā* as the quintessence of wisdom.⁵ Nirvāṇa is nothing else than *Ahiṃsā*, Therefore, we should not injure living

1.*mama kāyam chindiyur bhindiyur vikareyur vidhvamsayeyuh. evam mayā na kasycit sattvasyāntike kṣobhacittam utpādayitavyam.* Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 103.

2. *Vasundharā-saṁgrahaḥ śarvasattva-śubhāśhubha-kṣamaṇatayā* (Sukhāvati-vyūha, Max Muller's edition, p. 60.)

3. Purāṇa's story related in Pali Canon (*Samyutta Nikāya* IV p. 60; *Divyāvadāna* p. 23 (Vaidya's ed.) etc. Pūrṇa is depicted in a dialogue with the Buddha as being prepared to forbear any kind of vocal or physical violence of barbarous tribes of Śronāparānta country without any thought of ill-will.

4. Cf. K.C. Sogani: *Ethical Doctrines in Jainism*, p. 41.

5. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I. 11.10.

beings.¹ All beings from one-sensed to five-sensed ones are basically like one self.² It may also be noted that *ahiṃsā* is recognised as the first of the *anuvratas* as well as *mahāvratas*. Incidentally, it may be noted that Buddhists also give foremost importance to non-injury in their moral precepts. Their very first precept is *paṇātipātā veramaṇi-sikkhāpadam samādiyāmi*³ (I take upon the precept of abstaining from killing any living being).

Ahiṃsā, according to Jain teachers, is not something negative but another aspect of *dayā* (compassion), a counterpart of Buddhist *karuṇā*. In Hemacandra's words, *ahiṃsā* or *dayā* is the beneficent mother of all beings, the elixir for them who wander in suffering through the ocean of reincarnation. The positive *ahiṃsā* is expressed in the form of *karuṇā-dāna* or *abhaya-dāna*, the giving protection to all living creatures.⁴

According to *Tattvārthasūtra*, *ahiṃsā* is compounded of *Maitrī* (friendliness to all beings), *pramoda* (happiness when in the company of virtuous), *Kāruṇya* (compassion for those who are in misery) and *mādhyastha* (equinimity to those who are without any virtue).⁵ Somadeva rightly says that evil cannot dwell in a man with a compassion, for, this quality is more efficacious than the practice of all ceremonies.⁶

It is interesting to note that the conception of *ahiṃsā* here contains the same factors which are mentioned in Buddhism into sublime states called *brahmavihāras*.⁷

Hemacandra and many Jain writers quote also the famous verse to illustrate *ahiṃsā*:

save jīvā vi icchanti jīvium na marijjum |
*tamhā pāṇivahaṃ ghoram nigganthā vajjāyanti naṃ |*⁸

(All beings wish to live, not to be slain. Therefore, Nirgranthas (Jains) enjoin not to indulge in horrific (killing).

1. *Ibid.* I. 11.11

2. *Daśavaikālika-sūtra*. 5.

3. *Khuddaka-pāṭha*, p. 4 (Nālanda ed.)

4. R. Williams: *Jain Yoga*, p. 71

5. *Maitrī-pramoda-kāruṇya-mādhyasthāni sattvaguṇādihika-kliṣyamā-nāvineyeṣu*—*Tattvārthasūtra* VII. 6.

6. K.K. Handiqui: *Yāśastilaka and Indian Culture*, p. 264

7. Cf. *catvaro brahmavihārah-maitrī, karuṇā, muditā, upekṣā ceti.* (Dharma-Saṅgraha 16)

8. *Daśavaikālika-sūtra*, verse 219

Amṛtacandra holds that the appearance of any sort of passion on the surface of self is *himsa* and the self in its pure form is *ahimsā*.¹

The term *himsā*, may be defined as committing of injury to *dravya-prāṇas* and *bhāva-prāṇas* through the operation of yoga (physical, vocal and mental activity) which is dominated by intense passion.²

In Jainism, *ahimsā* is subdivided into *bhāva-himsā* and *dravya-himsā* or violence in thought and violence in (physical) action. It is the former violence which is the real violence (*niścaya-himsā*). Therefore mere physical taking away of life does not constitute complete definition of violence.³

Bhāva-himsā or violence in thought has predominated in the discussion of *ahimsā* by the Jain thinkers. Even before Umasvati defined *ahimsā*, Ācārya Kundukunda had declared that whether one was killed or not, a negligent person certainly committed violence. A vigilant person, on the other hand, who acted with care, did not suffer bondage by mere material injury.⁴ The commentator, Amṛtacandrācārya says that the inner violence is the impure state of self, whereas the injury to vitalities is the external manifestation of violence.⁵

Jain thinkers have elaborated the idea of *ahimsā*. Probably, no other religion in the world has defined, discussed, analysed and categorised the concept of non-violence in such details as Jainism has done. Jains classify violence into 108 varieties so that the aspirant can detect even the minutest form of violence. The violence, according to them, is threefold inasmuch as it can be (1) *kṛta*, (2) *kārita* (3) *anumodita*. This threefold violence becomes ninefold as it can be committed either by the instrumentality of mind, speech and body. This ninefold violence again becomes twentysevenfold for it can have three stages (1) *Sārambha* (thinking of violent action, (2) *Samārambha* (making preparation for violence) and (3) *Ārambha* (i.e. actual committance).

This twentysevenfold violence becomes one hundred and eightfold as it could be inspired by either of the four passions (or *kaṣāyas*) viz.

1. *Puruṣārthasiddhyupāya* 44; cf. Sogani: *Ethical Doctrines in Jainism*, p. 42
2. *Ibid.* 43; Sogani, *op cit* p. 76.
3. According to Buddhism also, the very intention (will) of committing an evil action is an act itself. Cf. *cetana aham, bhikkhave, kammam vadāmi; cetayitvā kammam karotī, kāyena, vācāya, manasā*. Anguttara-nikāya III p. 415. "Will in Buddhism is the chief element of causation of karma" (S.Z. Aung & Rhys Davids; *Compendium of Philosophy*), p. 235).
4. *Pravacanasāra* 3.17; cf. Dayānand Bhargava: *Jain Ethics* p. 106

krodha, māna, māyā and *lobha*. The above classification shows how Jain thinkers have taken a comprehensive view of non-violence.¹

Abstinence from killing others must be observed in thought, word, and deed. The mere thought of killing is as much immoral as actually killing. Hence, according to Jains, the principle of *Ahiṃsā* naturally implies purity of thought, word and deed actuated by universal love and mercy.

It may be noted that in Jainism *ahiṃsā-vrata* (vow of non-violence) is binding on all members of Jain society, whether householders or ascetics. In the case of householder, it is applicable with limitation, but in the case of ascetics, it is to be observed absolutely without any limitation. Both these vows, as applied to householders and ascetics, are called *aṇuvratas* and *mahāvratas* respectively.

Although in Brahmanical literature, we have here and there references to *ahiṃsā*²—the oft-quoted phrase *ahiṃsā paramo dharmah* (non-violence is the supreme duty) occurs in *Māhābhārata*³—but by and large Vedic people and Brahmanical cults glorified the institution of war and killing. It was the Śramaṇic tradition that first protested against the animal sacrifice. Thus Buddhists and Jains were the first protesters against inhuman killing and became the protectors of the underdog. However, it is in Jainism that the concept of *ahiṃsā* was highly developed and it became the sheet anchor of the religion. It was Jain Ācārya like Hemacandra who dubbed Manu Smṛti and such other Brāhmanical texts as *hiṃsā-śāstra*⁴. Jain Ācāryas could not conceive how the gods could seek satisfaction and serenity from such inhuman deeds which caused unbearable pain to animals. It is only by cultivating active friendliness to all living beings that one can purify one's *bhāvas* and curb his passions.

Violence cannot be justified for the glorification of religion. Non-violence, compassion and love are the core of the religion. Jainism was the first religion in India which raised its voice against any kind of violence, which is nothing but the expression of baser instincts of man.

It was after a long interval in Indian history that Gandhiji utilised this powerful weapon of non-violence in India's liberation. This

1. There are more complex calculations and divisions of ways in which *hiṃsā* is committed. Cf. R. Williams: *Jain Yoga*, p. 69.
2. Cf. *Ahiṃsayaiva bhūtānām kāryam śreyo'nuśāsanam* (Manu II. 159)
3. *Ahiṃsā paramo dharmas tatha'hiṃsa param tapah | ahiṃsā paramam satyam, tato dharmah pravartate |*—Mbh. XIII. 116.25.
4. Hemacandra: *Yogaśāstra* II. 35.; cf. R. Williams: *Jain Yoga*, p. 70.

religious concept, under the dynamic leadership of Mahatmaji, became a successful political weapon also to arouse people to gain their lost freedom. The non-violent struggle released the dormant energies of people and stirred them to action. This is the greatest contribution Jainism has made to political ideas and institutions in India.

Thus the Buddhist concept of *Maitrī*, which was instrumental in bringing to Buddhist fold a number of Asian countries without any employment of force, and the Jain concept of *Ahimsā* which inspired and guided the Indian struggle of Independence to its successful end, have contributed not only to extend the area of peace in national and international sphere, but these concepts have also been the major factors in raising the man from his baser instincts. They are, in fact, the finest fruit of Indian culture and civilization.

●

JAINA CONCEPT OF SPACE (ĀKĀŚA)

Dr. J.C. Sikdar

Introduction

The Jaina concept of space is unique in its originality. As one of the categories of Substance (Dravya,¹ i.e. Reality) Space is conceived by Jaina philosophy as absolute, permanent, fixed, non-corporeal single (having its parts inseparable from one another), immovable (capable of no action), penetrable and capable of receiving all other substances and the succession of things in motion, on the basis of the notion of space as positional quality of the world of material objects and space as container of material objects and other substances from the standpoints of dravya (substance), kṣetra (locus), kāla (time) and bhāva (condition).²

The seed of the Jaina concept of space is embodied in the Jaina Āgamas like the Bhagavati Sūtra³, etc. In the post-āgamic age Umāsvāti⁴ had sown the seed of its metaphysical aspect on the basis of its āgamic conception, while Ācārya Pūjyapāda⁵, Akalaṅka⁶, Vidyānanda⁷ and other later Ācāryas gradually developed it in the light of the concepts of space of other Indian philosophies. They organized the entire systems of disputes on the space theory by making a synthetic view of all other Indian concepts of space. The Jaina thinkers re-

1. "Chavvihā-Savvadavvā paṇṇattatāmjahā—dhammatthikāe adhammatthikāe jāva addhāsamage 1"
Bhagavati Sūtra, 25. 4. 733-4; 11.4.424; 13. 4. 82-3.
Anuyogadāra Sūtra, 324, Gommaṭasāra (Jivakhaṇḍa) 560.
Tattvārthasūtra, v. 2; 39, "Dravyāṇi Jīvaśca, Kālaśca"
2. "Āgāsatthikāevi evaṃ ceva, navaraṃ Khettao ṇaṃ āgāsatthikāe loyāloyappamāṇamette aṇaṃte ceva jāva gūṇao avagāhanaguṇe 1"
Bhagavati Sūtra, 2.10.1, 18 Pañcāstikāyasāra, Kundakunda, 22
Nityāvasthitānyarūpāṇi", Tattvārthasūtra, v. 3.
Niṣkriyāṇi" Ibid, v. 6. ^{Hokākas}Avagāha:
Ākāśādekadravyāṇi", Ibid. v. 5. Ibid. V. 7.
Ākāśasyānantāḥ", Ibid. v. 9.
Ākāśasyāvagāhaḥ", Ibid. v. 18.
3. Bhagavati Sūtra, 20. 2. 664; 2.10.118; 13.4. 481.
4. Tattvārthādhigamasūtra, v. 3, 5, 6, 9, 18
5. Sarvārthasiddhi, v. 4, 6, 7, 9, 12, 18
6. Tattvārtha Rājavārtika v. 4, 6, 7, 9, 12, 18
7. Tattvārtha Śloka-vārtika v. 4, 6, 7, 9, 12, 18

tained the substantial existence of Space as conceived by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika¹ and the Vaiśbhāṣika,² while discarding the elemental concept of space of 'the Sāṃkhya³ and the early Buddhist school (Theravāda Buddhism)⁴ and non-substantial momentary existence of space element as maintained by the Sautrāntikas.⁵

It appears that the speculation on the concept of space marks a stage of emergence and development of subtle thought in the field of Indian philosophy of the āgamakāla (age of Āgamas), āgamottarakāla (post-āgamic age) and darśanakāla (age of Indian metaphysics). In this speculation the Sāṃkhya—Yoga, the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, the Mīmāṃsaka, the Buddhists and the Vedānta system of thought have attacked this problem in their respective manners.

The root cause of the space theory was the notion of space as positional quality of the world of material objects and space as container of material objects.

All the schools of Indian philosophy have admitted four or five elements⁶ of Matter (bhūta) as the basis of the world of material objects, having a support for space as the substratum of the four real entities.

The Sāṃkhya is the advocate of Prakṛtivāda (Doctrine of the fundamental cause of the material Universe); nevertheless it gives

1. "Pṛthivyāpastejo vāyurākāśaṃ kālo digātmā mana iti dravyāṇi", Vaiśeṣikasūtra, 1. 15. Praśastapāda's Bhāṣya, pp. 22, 23.
2. "Anāsrava mārgasatyam trividham cāpyasaṃskṛtam Ākāśam dvau nirodhau ca tatākāśamanāvṛtiḥ 1", Abhidharmakośa, i, Kārikā 5, Vasubandhu.
3. History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. I, p. 212, Dr. S. N. Dasgupta.
4. Abhidharmadīpa, edited by Dr. Padmabha Jaini, p. 90.
5. "Na rūpādibhyaḥ pañcabhyo' asāṃskṛtam bhāvāntaramasti 1 ato nāsaṃskṛtam dravyamiti sautrāntikāḥ 1" Abhidharmakośa II, 55, Sphuṭārthā, p. 149.
6. Tattvopaplavasiṃha, Pt. I. "Pṛthivyāpastejo Vāyuriti tattvam". Nyāyamañjarī, Jayanta, II, p. 3. Sāmāññaphala sutta, Dīghanikāya, ajitakeśakambalika's view (3) 22; sūtrakṛtāṅga, 1.1.17-18. śvetāśvatara upaniṣad 12; Brhadāraṇyaka upaniṣad, 2. 4. 12; Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya, gāthā, 155531; Vijayanagaram series, P. 472; See sūtrakṛtanganirūpti, gāthā 30 and Gaṇadharevāda (Gujarat Vidyāsabhā-prakāśa, the doubt of the third Gaṇadhara Vāyubhūti, p. 501; Majjhimanikāya II, Cūlamālunīkāya sūta, for the avyākṛtapraśna; Vaiśeṣikasūtra, 1,1,5; Tarkasaṅgraha 2, p. 5; Prakaraṇapañcikā, p. 78 (pp. 52 ff); Prabhākara-mīmāṃsā, pp 35 ff; sbhidharmakośa 1.12.

place to ākāśa (space or ether) as produced from tanmātra (infra space potential)¹. According to the early school of the Sāṃkhya, ākāśa² is one of the six elements (dhātus), viz. ākāśa (space or ether), vāyu (air), teja (fire), ap (water), kṣiti (earth) and cetanā or puruṣa (consciousness of self)³. It is stated to have originated out of the Mass or Inertia (Tamas) in the Prakṛiti as a result of its transformation, when the original equilibrium came to an end and unequal aggregation found collocations of the three guṇas—Sattva (Essence), Rajas (Energy) and Tamas (Mass)⁴. That is to say, ākāśa (space) of the Sāṃkhya is janyapadārtha or dhātu (evolved entity or element), but not an independent, absolute substance.

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika conceives ākāśa⁵ (space) as one of the categories of Dravya (Substance) and the fundamental principle of creation⁶ on the basis of dravyatva (substantiality), hence its concept of space stands on Dravyavāda (Doctrine of Substance) and Sthiratvavāda (Doctrine of Permanence). According to this philosophy, Śabda (sound)⁷ is the specific quality of ākāśa (space). As the substratum of śabda (sound) the latter (ākāśa) constitutes the sense-organ of hearing and can function as the auditory organ, when associated with tympanum,⁸ but it is eternal and all-pervading. On the basis of the concept of space of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika the Prabhākara Mīmāṃsaka⁹

1. 'Nyūnādhikabhāvena anyo anyam saṃyogaviśeṣa saṃghananam Sāṃkhya-Pravacanabhāṣya, Ch. I. 66.
Vyāsaḥbhāṣya on Yogasūtra, II. 19.; Pravacanabhāṣya 1.62.
Vyāsaḥbhāṣya, IV. 14., Yogavārtika, Vijnānabhikṣu, IV. 14.
The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus, p. 24.
2. History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. I, p. 212. Dr. S.N. Dasgupta.
3. Ibid.
4. "Nyūnādhikabhāvena anyo anyam saṃyogaviśeṣaḥ saṃghananam" Pravacanabhāṣya, ch. I. Sū. 66.
5. "Pṛthivyāpastejo vāyurākaśam kālodigātmā mana iti dravyāṇi" Vaiśeṣika Sūtra, 1.1.5
6. Praśastapādabhāṣya, pp. 21, 23.
7. Tatrākāśasya guṇaḥ śabdasaṃkhyāparimāṇapṛthaktvasaṃyogavibhāgaḥ I" Praśastapādabhāṣya, pp. 23-4.
"śabdalingaviśeṣadekatvaṃ siddham",
Ibid., ppbha., p. 25. Nyāyalīlāvatī, pp. 274-75.
8. "Śrotaṃ Punaḥ Śravaṇavivarasaṃjñako nabhodesaḥ śābdanimittopabhogaḥ pṛthakadharm ādharmopanibaddhastasya ca nityatve satyupanibandha kavaikalyādbādhiryaṃ iti 1", PPbhā P. 26.
9. "Pṛthivyaptejovāyurākaśakāladiḡātmāmanāmsi iti I" Prakaraṇapañcikā, p. 7, p. 81.

accepts ākāśa (space) as one of the categories of Dravya (substance), while Theravāda Buddhism, like the early Sāṃkhya conceives ākāśa (space) as a kind of element (matter) (ākāśa-dhātu=pariccheda) and not as mahābhūta".¹ But this ākāśa-dhātu (space-element) has been given a position of an asaṃskṛta dharma (eternal element) in the Vaibhāṣika school² and accepted as an eternal substance, just as it is conceived in the Vaiśeṣika school. The substantial existence of ākāśa (space) has not been admitted by the Sautrāntikas,³ for they are not the believers in eternal entities, but in absolute momentariness of entities. The Vedānta maintains the view that ākāśa (space) is Brahman since the characteristic marks are mentioned.⁴ As all the prominent characteristics of Brahman are ascribed to ākāśa, it cannot be the eternal ākāśa but Brahman. Besides the synonyms used for ākāśa, vyoma and kha are applied for Brahman.⁵

The Jaina Philosophy has conceived the space theory on the basis of the principle of space as positional quality of the material objects and space as container of material objects from the standpoints of its permanence, fixedness, non-corporeality, singleness, immobility or inactivity and capacity of receiving⁶ the succession of things in motion and made synthetic view of all other Indian concepts of space from the aspects of dravya (substance), kṣetra (locus), kāla (time) and bhāva (condition)⁷.

Jaina Conception of Space

There are stated to be many synonyms of space : ākāśa ākāśāstikāya, gagana, nabha, sama, viśama, khaha, viha, vīyi, vivara, ambara, chidra, jhusira, mārga, vimukha, adra, viyat, ādhāra, vyoma, bhājana, antarīkṣa, avakāśāntara, agama, sphaṭika, ananta and those which are like them.⁸

1. Abhidharmadīpa, p. 90.
Paricchedarūpa means material quality of limitation.
2. Anāsrava mārgasatyam trividham cāpasamskṛtam I Ākāśam dvau nirodhau ca tatrākāśamanāvṛtiḥ I" Abh. K., I. 5.
3. "Na rūpādibhyaḥ pañcabhyo asaṃskṛtam bhāvāntaramasti ato nāsamskṛtam dravyamiti Sautrāntikāḥ I", Abh. K.II. 55, Sphūṭārthā.
4. "Ākāśastallīngāt", Brahmasūtra, 1.1.22.
5. "Śāṅkarabhāṣya on Brahmasūtra, 1. 1. 22.
"Tathākāśaparyāyavācināmapi Brahmani prayogo dṛśyate ico' kṣara parame vyoman yasmin.....Brahmaṇ Kham Brahman Kham Purāṇam" etc.
6. Bhagavatī Sūtra, 2. 10. 118.
7. Bhagavatī Sūtra, 2. 1. 118.
8. Bhagavatī Sūtra, 20. 2. 664.

According to the Jainas, space is a colourless, odourless, tasteless, touchless, (i.e. devoid of material qualities), non-corporeal, non-living, permanent, eternal and fixed substance.¹ Space is that in which other substances manifest themselves or exist with their respective modes without exception or it itself gives room to them, i.e. that which functions as locus is called space (ākāśa)². The differentia of space is to accommodate other substances.³ It is a single substance (i.e. its parts are inseparable from one another), from the point of view of dravya (substance), equal to the extent of the Universe and the Non-Universe (Lokāloka), i.e. all-pervasive, and infinite from that of Kṣetra (locus); it is eternal from that of Kāla (time), it is colourless, odourless, tasteless and touchless from that of condition (bhāva), and it is endowed with the quality of accommodation from that of capacity or quality (guṇa).⁴

So space is permanent, fixed and non-corporeal,⁵ immobile or inactive,⁶ one single substance⁷ having infinite space-points,⁸ and it is endowed with the attribute of accommodation.⁹ It is permanent because it never becomes devoid of its own general and particular natures; it is fixed, for there never takes place any increase nor decrease in its number; it is non-corporeal, as it has no material qualities.

Nityatva (permanence) of a dravya (substance) is the non-giving up of its own natures—general and particular, i.e. not to be lost of its own nature. And even being permanent in its own nature, it does not attain the nature of other substances. This is called avasthitatva

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1. Bhagavatī Sūtra, 2. 10. 118.
 2. "Ākāśante asmin dravyāṇi svayam vākāśata ityākāśam; Jvād ni dravyāṇi svaiḥ svaiḥ paryāyaiḥ prakāśante tadākāśam I" Tattvārtha Rājavārtika, p. 434.
 3. Bhagavatī Sūtra, 13. 4. 481.
 4. Āgāsathikāevi evaṁ ceva, navaram khettao ṇaṁ āgāsathikāe loyāloyappamānamette aṇante ceva jāva guṇao avagānaguṇe I" Bhagavatī Sūtra, 2. 10. 118.
 5. "Nityāvasthitānyarūpāṇi I", Tattvārthadhigamasūtra, v. 3.
 6. "Niṣkriyāṇi I", Ibid., v. 6.
 7. Ākāśādekadravyāṇi I" Ibid., v. 5.
 8. "Ākāśasyānantāḥ I", Ibid., v. 19.
 9. "Ākāśasyāvagāhaḥ I", Ibid., v. 18.

(fixedness)¹, e.g. the soul-substance never gives up its general nature of substantiality and its particular nature of consciousness.² This is its nityatva (permanence). And it does not attain the nature of the non-sentient principles by giving up its own nature; this is its avasthitatva (fixedness). These two characteristics—non-giving up of own nature and non-attainment of others nature are equal in all substances. In this way the permanence of space (ākāśa) is explained by the discourse on the permanence of the substances (dravyas) and their mutual non-mixing of individuality is signified by the analysis of avasthitatva (fixedness), i.e. all of them, even being subject to change, are permanent in their own nature and one does not take the nature of the other, while existing together.

Space is arūpī (non-corporeal); here arūpitva (non-corporeality) is not the denial of own nature, for there must be its nature. If there is not, it is not real just as the horse's horns are not proved real. The meaning of arūpitva is here non-corporeality. The effect (or conglomeration) of colour, taste, smell, touch, and figure is called mūrti (concreteness). There is no existence of such mūrti in ākāśa (space)³, so it has been explained by the word 'arūpī' (non-corporeal).

As to the point of singleness or oneness, (ekadravyatā) of space⁴ the meaning of it is this that it does not have two or more individualities; it is continuanum. Besides, it is immobile (niṣkriya)⁵ or inactive like Dharmāstikāya and Adharmāstikāya (principles of Rest and Motion). Here the question arises how can there take place the modification or transformation (i.e. origination and decay) in it, if it is regarded to be immobile or inactive. It is to be noted here that gatikriyā (physical action into motion) of space has been denied by the term 'niṣkriyatva'⁶ for the meaning of niṣkriyadravya (inactive substance) is gatiśūnya dravya (immobile substance). Therefore, space is accepted as immobile

1. Tattvārthādhigamasūtra, p. 322.
2. Ibid., p. 323.
3. Arūpāṇi ca naiṣāṁ rūpamastīti I; rūpam mūrṭiḥ, mūrṭāśrayāśca sparśādaya iti I" Tattvārtha Sūtra, Bhāṣya, v. 3, p. 322.
4. Naiṣāṁ samānajātyāṇi dravyāntarāṇi santīti, avilakṣaṇopakārāti, dharmādharmākāśānām hi gatiṣṭhityavagāhotpattyā prabhavitā upakāraḥ 1" Tattvārthādhigamasūtra, p. 326.
5. "Ā ākāśādeva dharmādīni niṣkriyāṇi bhavanti 1", Ibid., Bhāṣya p. 326.
6. "Pudgalajīvavartini ya viśeṣakriyā deśāntara-prāṇtilakṣaṇa tasyaḥ pratiśedho ayam notpādādisāmānyakriyāyāḥ 1", Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra, p. 327.

substance; it is the largest whole (or aggregate) of all the substances because it is equal to the extent of infinite space-points (pradeśas) of Lokāloka (Universe and Non-Universe).¹ In the purest form this objectively real entity does one function only, i.e. to accommodate other substances of the Universe, viz. principles of Motion and Rest, Soul, Matter and Time.² In other words, its function is to be the cause in accommodation; Dravyas are existing everywhere in the Universe, i.e. their function is to attain room, but to give room in itself, is the function of space, for the affording of accommodation has been accepted as its attribute. According to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, the existence of space is established by inference, for it is not an object of perception endowed with the colour attribute which is an essential condition of the external perception of a substance.³ Space is a ubiquitous⁴ and eternal substance; it is one single whole⁵ unsusceptible to division and is on par with Kāla (Time) and Deśa or Dik (Relative position) in this respect. It is a universal locus a receptacle, containing all, finite substances. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika concept of space is almost identical with the Jaina concept of space except on one point that it accepts śabda (sound)⁶ as its specific quality.

On the basis of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika concept of space the Prabhākara Mīmāṃsaka also maintains that ākāśa (space) is one of the nine categories of substance (Dravya).⁷ It is ubiquitous, eternal, inactive,

1. "Lokālokākāśaśyānantāḥ pradeśāḥ I"
Tattvārthadhigamasūtra, Bhāṣya, pp. 330-1.
2. "Savveśāṃ Jivāṇaṃ sesāṇaṃ taha ya pudgalāṇaṃ ca I
Jaṃ dedi Vivaramakhilāṃ taṃ loe havadi āyasaṃ II;
Pañcāstikāyasāra, Kundakunda, V. 97, p. 79.
3. "Arūpatāyā cākṣuṣastatrāpravr̥tteḥ tasya rūpayogyatāmupādāyaiva
dravyagrāhakatvāt anyathā ātmano api cākṣuṣtvaprasaṅgāt I"
Nyāya Kiraṇāvalī, 1.5, p. 336.
4. "Śabdasaṃyogavibhāvācca sarvagataṃ I"
Nyāyasūtra, 4.2.21;
See also Nyāyavārtika, IV. II. 21.
5. "Tattvambhāvena I", Vaiśeṣika, II, 1. 29;
Śabdalingāviśeṣādviśeṣalingabhāvācca I"
Vaiśeṣikasūtra, II. 1. 30.
"Ākāśakālaśeṣamekaikatvādapara-jātyabhāve pāribhāṣikyastisraḥ
saṃjñā bhavanti ākāśaḥ kālo digiti I", Praśastapādabhāṣya, p. 23.
6. "Tatrākāśasya guṇaḥ śabdasaṃkhyāparimāṇa, etc."
PPbhā, pp. 23-4.
7. "Pr̥thivyaptejovāyurākāśakāladigātmāmānāṃsi iti I"
Prakaraṇapañcikā, p. 7.

non-corporeal, non-tactile, intangible, infinite, single, substance, having sound (śabda) as its specific quality.¹

The Vaibhāṣika view on the nature of eternal space-element (asaṃskṛta ākāśadhātu)² is that "it is in essence the freedom from obstruction, establishing it as a permanent omnipresent immaterial substance (Nirūpākhya non-rūpa)".³ Its substantial existence is defined in this way that "that which gives room or in which entities manifest themselves, i.e. other objects which attain development is called ākāśa (space)".⁴ It itself does not cover (occupy or obstruct) other elements and it itself is not covered (or occupied or obstructed) by other elements⁵, as for instance, earth. It has two kinds of nature, viz. avakāśadāna (giving room to other elements) and anāvaraṇatva (coverlessness or unobstructiveness).

Therefore it is all-pervasive (Vibhu) as it is conceived in the Jaina and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika systems of thought. Here it is to be observed that the Vaibhāṣika concept of space comes nearer to the Jaina concept of space as positional quality of the world of material objects and space as container of material objects, with its substantial existence.

In modern physical science the concept of space as based on Newton's theory of absolute space is defined in this way. "We conceive space to be that, wherein all Bodies are placed, or to speak with the schools, have their Ubi, that is altogether penetrable, receiving all Bodies into itself, and refusing Ingress to nothing whatsoever; that it is immovably fixed, capable of no Action, form or Quality, whose parts it is impossible to separate from each other, by any Force however great; but the space itself remaining immovable receives the successions of things in motion, determines the velocities of their Motions, and measures the distances of things themselves".⁶ It is gratifying to

1. Ibid., p. 81.

2. "Anāsravāmārga satyaṃ trividhaṃ cāpayasamskṛtaṃ
Ākāśaṃ dvau nirodhau ca tatrākāśamanāvṛtiḥ I". Abh. K. 1. 5.

3. History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. I, p. 124.

4. Avakāśaṃ dadātīyākāśamiti nirvacanaṃ I
bhṛśamasyāntaḥ kāsānti bhāvā ityākāśamityapare I", Abh. k, i, 5,
Sphuṭārtha.

5. "Yo dharmo anyān dharmānnāvṛṇoti, anyairvā I
nāvriyate tat anāvaraṇasvabhāvamākāśaṃ I"
Tadapratyakṣaviśayatvādanyadharmānāvṛtyānum yate I",
Ibid.

6. John Keill, An Introduction to Natural Philosophy
(London, 1745), p. 15,
Vide Concepts of Space,
Dr. Max Jammer, P.F. 6.

note that the Jaina concept of space is almost identical with Newton's concept of space. That which is the same as the Universe and also distinct from it is sapce (ākāśa) which is infinite.¹ Space is pervading everywhere, although there is no movement in it. This is because space exists everywhere. The capacity to allow common accommodation to all substances is the special characteristic of space. It allows other substances to penetrate itself just as water allows a swan.² Professor Einstein held the view on the concept of space that 'Into a certain box we can place a definite number of grains of rice or cherries, etc. It is here a question of a property of the material object "box", which property must be considered "real" in the same sense as the box itself. One can call this property the space "of the box". This concept "Space" thus achieves a meaning which is freed from any connection with a particular material object. In this way by a natural extension of "box"—"space" one can arrive at the concept of an independent (absolute) space, unlimited in extent, in which all material object not situated in space is simply inconceivable; on the other hand, in the frame-work of this concept formation, it is quite conceivable that an empty space may exist"³. This view is identical with the Jaina concept of space comprising the Universe and the Non-Universe (Lokāloka)⁴. Long before Prof. Einstein, the Jainācārya Akalaṅka explained the accommodating property of space by giving a similar example of grains of rice in a cooking vessel instead of "box" of the former in the following manner : "Space functions as the locus like a cooking vessel in which grains of rice are boiled".⁵ Thus space is conceived as the positional quality of the world of material objects and as the container of the material objects in Jaina philosophy as defined by Prof. Einstein.

1. "Jivā puggalakāyādhammādhammā ya logadoṇaṇā I
Tatto aṇaṇamaṇṇaṃ āyāsaṃ amtavadirittam II,"
Pañcāstikāyasāra, 98, p. 200; 92, P. 150, Rāyacandra edition.
2. "Yathā Jalamavagāhate haṃsa iti na Jalahamsayoraṇādi
sambadhaḥ I",
Tattvārtha Rājavārtika, p. 466.
3. Concept of Space, Dr. Max Jammer, Foreword by Prof. Einstein,
pp. XIII-XIV.
4. "Duvihe āgāse pa tamjahā logāgāse ya alogāgāse ya I"
Bhagavat Sūtra, 2.10.121, 1.6.53, 13. 481.
5. "Ākāśapradeśanimitteti cet; tām pratyadhikaraṇabhāvādbhājanav
at I Yathā bhājanam taṇḍulānāmadhikaraṇam I",
Tattvārtha Rājavārtika, p. 477.

Capacity of Space

Ācārya Kundakunda deals with the question why ākāśa cannot be the condition of motion and rest, in addition to its accommodating capacity. If space, in addition to accommodating other things, conditions their motion and rest, then why do these siddhas whose tendency is to go upwards come to stay at the summit of the world¹?

According to him, such a hypothesis would be impossible. It would be conflicting with other facts, for if it is also the condition of motion and rest, then wherever there is ākāśa (space), there should be chance for motion and rest. But neither a single Jīva (Soul) nor a single atom of Pudgala (Matter) could step beyond the limit of Lokākāśa (Universe), though there is ākāśa (space) beyond. Therefore, he maintains that space is not the condition of either motion or rest. These require independent principles as their condition. Ākāśa (space) cannot be a substitute for Dharma and Adharma (Principles of Motion and Rest).² He further clarifies that point : "If Space be the condition of motion and rest of life and matter, then there would happen the disappearance of Aloka(Non-Universe) and the destruction and dissipation of Loka (Universe)."³ As to the nature of ākāśa, rather of Lokākāśa, it is explained by him that, "Lokākāśa, Dharma and Adharma (Principles of Motion and Rest) are all co-extensive and coincident. Hence they may be considered as one conventionally, as they are all non-corporeal entities in the same locality. But they are in reality different from one another on account of their functional difference".⁴ They are mutually interpenetrating and coincident, as they are of the same size and form, and constitute an inseparable unity, though they exhibit diversity in function.⁵

As to the question of how can penetration apply to Dharmāstikāya and Adharmāstikāya which are inactive and eternally pervasive, Ācārya

1. "Āgāsaṃ avagāsaṃ gamaṇaṭṭhidikāraṇehiṃ dedi jadi I Uḍḍhaṃgadipadhāṇā siddhā ciṭṭhaṃti kidha tattha II" Pañcāstikāyasāra 9, p. 100; 92, p. 151 (Rāyacandra edition)
2. Ibid. (Commentary).
3. "Jadi havadi gamaṇahedu āgāsaṃ ṭhāṇakāraṇaṃ tesim I Pasajadi alogahāṇī logassa ya amṭaparivuḍḍhi II" Ibid (P.S.), 101, p. 102. 94, p. 152, Rāyacandra edition.
4. Ibid., pp. 100-101.
5. Dhammādharmāgāsā apudhabbhūḍā samāṇaparimāṇā I Pudhaḡuvaladdhivisesā Karamti egattamaṇṇattaṃ II Ibid., 103, p. 104; 96 (Rāyacandra edition), p. 154.

Pūjyapāda deals with the point in this manner: "Penetration is established by convention.. For instance, ākāśa (space) is spoken of as pervading everywhere, although there is no movement. This is because space exists everywhere. Similarly, there is no penetration by the media of motion and rest, it is attributed conventionally as these penetrate the entire universe.¹" In reply to another question: "If the characteristic of space is to give room for other objects, then there would be no obstruction of objects, such as, stones by the steel, loadstone or diamond and so on, and of cows and others by walls, etc. But there is obstruction, hence it is destitute of the nature of giving room for other things.²" He explains it by stating that "obstruction in the instances given is mutual between gross objects like steel and stones. So this does not affect the capacity of space to give room to other objects. In the instances given, obstruction is offered by the objects only and not by space. Further, steel, wall, etc., are gross objects and they do not give room to each other. This is not the fault of space. Subtle forms of matter do give room to each other.³" Here the contradiction arises. "If it is so, this is not the special characteristic of space, as this is present in others also."⁴

Ācārya Pūjyapāda solves this problem of contradiction in this way; "The capacity to allow common-accommodation to all substances is the special characteristic of space. It cannot be said that this characteristic is absent in the non-universe space, for no substance gives up its own inherent nature".⁵

Akalaṅka explains the accommodating capacity of Ākāśa by giving an illustration... "Ākāśa (space) allows other substances to penetrate itself just as water allows a swan."⁶ Here he defines 'avagāhana' as penetration⁷, but this analogy is not well fitted in this case because a certain volume of water is displaced by the swan, while

1. Sarvārthasiddhi, p. 284.

2. Ibid.

3. Sarvārthasiddhi, pp. 284-5.

4. "Yadyevam nedamākāśasyāsādhāraṇam lakṣaṇam; itareṣāmapī tatsadbhāvāditi", Ibid., p. 285.

5. Ibid., p. 285.

6. "Yathā jalamavagāhate haṁsa iti na jalahaṁsayoranādisambādhaḥ 1"

Tattvārtha Rājavārtika, p. 466.

7. "Avagaho anupraveśa ityārthaḥ 1"
Ibid., p. 466.

the idea of displacement of ākāśa does not arise in its case on account of its being a subtle substance.¹

In his view this is the analogical application (aupacārika prayoga)² that the swan penetrates water, but not the main application. So Dharma and Adharma (Principles of Motion and Rest) exist in Lokākāśa (Universe-space), interpenetrating one another. He clarifies his point of view on the accommodating function of space in this manner: Space functions as the locus and it is linked by him to a cooking vessel in which the grains of rice are boiled.³

As to the question "If space is the support of the medium of motion, etc., what is the support of space"? Ācārya Pūjyapāda answers to it in this manner:

"There is no other support for space, space is supported by itself." Now the following contention arises: "If another support is postulated for the medium of motion and the other substances, another support must be postulated for space also. If that is done, it will lead to infinite regress. But it is not so. There is no substance which is more extensive than space, wherein it can be said to be located. It is infinite-fold of all other categories. Hence, from the empirical point of view, space is said to be the receptacle of the medium of motion, etc. But from the intrinsically genuine, or exact point of view, all substances are situated in themselves. For instance, if some one asks another where are you?, he gives the reply, "I am in myself". The effect of referring to these as the supporter and the supported (the container and the contained) amounts to only this much. The medium of motion and the other substances do not exist outside the space of the Universe."⁴ Here the contention arises: "The idea or state of the container applies only to things which come into existence one after the other (i.e. receiving the succession of material objects in motion). For instance, the plums are in the basin. In that manner space is not prior to the other substances, such as, the medium of motion, etc. Hence from

1. Cosmology, Old and New, p. 47.

2. "Aupacāriko" ayamavagāhaḥ 1" Tattvārtha Rājavārtika, p. 460.

3. "Ākāśapradeśanimitteti cet; na; taṁ pratyadhikaraṇabhāvād-bhājanavat 1", 22 (8) Ibid., p. 477.

4. "Yadi dharmādīnām lokākāśamādhāraḥ ākāśasya ka ādhāra iti? 1" Sarvārthasiddhi, p. 277.

5. Ibid.

the empirical point of view, it is not proper to speak of space and the rest as the supporter and the supported"¹ In reply to this point Ācārya Pūjyapāda maintains that "the idea of the supporter and the supported applies even to things which come into existence at the same time. For instance, we speak of colour, etc. in the pitcher and hands in the body."²

In support of the view of his predecessor on this problem Akalaṅka³ holds the view that all substances are self-contained (svapratīṣṭhita) from the point of Evambhūtanaya (i.e. the absolute nature of a thing-in-itself); there is no state (or relation) of the supporter and the supported in them. But there is the conception of the mutual relation of the container and the contained from the empirical point of view, as it is said, "Space is the container or supporter of air, air is of water, water is of earth, earth is of all beings, non-beings are of beings and beings also are of non-beings, beings or souls are the containers of karmas, karmas are of beings or souls, and Dharma, Adharma, Kāla are Ākāśādhikaraṇa (contained in space)⁴, from the noumenal point of view, ākāśa (space), air, etc., are self-contained. According to Vidyānanda, Space is self-contained by the nature of all-pervasiveness."⁵

DIVISION OF SPACE (ĀKĀŚA)

In Jaina Philosophy ākāśa (Space) is conceived of as comprising Lokākāśa (Universe) and Alokākāśa (Non-Universe)⁶ both of which are eternal entities,⁷ without succession from the eternal past. Although it is conceptually undistinguishable, its division into Lokākāśa and Alokākāśa is formulated on the basis of the existence of the other five fundamental substances and their constituent particles or points (pradeśas) in the former and their non-existence in the latter. It is

1. Ibid.
2. Naiṣā doṣaḥ; Yugapadbhāvināmapi ādhārādheyabhāvo dṛśyate I ghaṭe rūpādayaḥ śarīre hastādaya iti 1" Ibid.
3. Evambhūtanayaḍeśāt sarvadavyāṇi paramārthatayā ātmapratīṣṭhānityādhārādheyabhāvāto kut anavasthā 1" Tattvārtha Rājavārtika, p. 454.
4. Ibid., p. 454.
5. Ākāśasya vibhutvena svapratīṣṭhatvasiddhiḥ 1" Tattvārtha śloka-vārtika, p. 407.
6. "Duvihe āgāse pa., tamjahā-logāgāse ya alogāgāse ya I", Bhagavatī Sūtra, 2.10. 121.
7. "Dovi ee sāsaya bhāvā aṇaṇupuvvīm 1", Ibid., 1. 6. 53.

stated in the Āgamas that space is the receptacle of the living and non-living substances and it is filled with one to thousands of crores of them, because the characteristic 'avagāhanā' (accommodation) signifies space¹. It means that there exist the living and non-living substances, their respective constituent elements or parts (deśas), smallest particles or points (pradeśas) in the Universe,² but they do not exist in the space of the Non-Universe. There is only one part (deśa) of the non-living substances which is neither heavy nor light and associated with infinite qualities of neither heaviness nor lightness and is less by infinitesimal part in the entire space.³

On the basis of the Āgamic account of the division of space into Universe and Non-Universe, Umāsvatī, Ācārya Kundakunda and other later Jainācāryas have dealt with this problem in their respective works. The aphorism of the Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra "Lokākāśe avagāhaḥ"⁴ implies the division of space into Lokākāśa and Alokākāśa (Universe and Non-Universe). The five fundamental substances, viz. Dharmāstikāya (Principle of Motion), Adharmāstikāya (Principle of Rest), Jīvāstikāya (Soul), Pudgalāstikāya (Matter) and Kāla (Time) are accommodated in Lokākāśa (Universe).⁵ The division of space is explained in this manner: The middle portion of the infinite space in which five substances exist is called Loka⁶ and the portion in which there is only space-substance is called aloka.⁶

According to Ācārya Pūjyapāda, "the distinction between the Universe and the non-Universe is based on the presence of the media of motion and rest. If the medium of motion does not exist in the

1. Bhagavatī Sūtra, 13. 4. 481. Uttarādhyayana 28. 7.
2. "Logāgāse....Jīvāvi Jivādesāvi Jivapadesāvi ajīvāvi ajivadesāvi ajivapadesāvi 1", Ibid., 2. 10. 121; 11. 10. 420.
3. "Alogāgāse....no Jivā jāva no ajivappaesā ege ajivadvadese agurulaghue aṇamtehiṃ agurulahuyaguṇehiṃ samjutte savvāgāse āṇamtabhāguṇe 1" Bhagavatī Sūtra, 2. 10. 122; 11. 10. 420.
4. Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra v. 7., Umāsvatī.
5. "Puggalajīvaṇitaddho dhammādhhammatthikāyakālaḍḍho I. Vaṭṭada āgāse jo logo so savvakāle du II" Pravacanasāra, II. 36.
Ācārya Kundakunda. See also Sarvārthasiddhi, v. 1; Dravyasaṃgraha, v. 20, Nemicandra.
6. "Āgāse aṇamṭānamtakāśadravyasya madhyavartini Lokākāśe 'so' logo pūrvoktapañcānām samudāyastadādhārabhūtaṃ lokākāśaṃ ceti śaḍdravyasaṃmūho loko bhavati 1" Pravacanasāra Tātparyatikā. II. 36. p. 180.

Universe—space, there can be no certain cause of movements and there can be no distinction of Universe and Non-Universe. If the medium of rest does not exist there can be no cause assisting rest. Things will not be stationary, or there will be no distinction of Universe and Non-Universe. Therefore, owing to the existence of both the media of motion and rest, the distinction of Universe and Non-Universe is established.”¹

The Jaina view on the division of Space is supported by modern science to some extent in this way: “Practically space as a whole should be identified with the Field of the Universe as a whole. This conception ties up the modern one of a finite, even if incommensurable, Universe a sphere whose dimensions are of the order of billion light years. What lies beyond probably nothing manifested, or at least perceptible either to our senses or consciousness or may be the *Dens ex machina* and the heavens of the conventioned theologies, where are its bounds and borders? Nowhere and everywhere, since the light rays, apparently going in a straight line are really not doing so; they are either going in a circle, returning boomrang like to their point of departure, or may be an ellipse, a parabola or even a spiral. Because of this the telescopic vision of the Universe is progressively altered in proportion to its distance, it is even doubtful if we can farther the real disposition—the galaxie, beyond our own, from their apparent earthly perspective.”³

CONCLUSION

Now the questions arise how it is known that the Non-Universe (*aloka*) also possesses the attribute of accommodation, what is the boundary between the Universe and the Non-Universe and what is it which keeps the distinction between them.

There are stated to be infinite modes of colour, smell, etc. up to infinite modes, of neither heaviness nor lightness (*agurulaghuparyāyas*)* in the Universe (*Loka*), while in the Non-Universe (*Aloka*) there are no modes of colour, etc., but only space⁵. In this way Jaina metaphy-

1. *Svalakṣaṇam hi lokasya saḍdravyasamavāyātmakatvaṁ, alokasya punaḥ kevalākāśātmakatvaṁ* 1” Ibid., *Pradīpikā*, p. 180.
2. *Sarvārthasiddhi*, p. 278.
3. *Mysteries of Space*, p. 5.
4. “*Bhāvaṁ naṁ, loke aṇamāta vaṇṇapajjavā . . . aṇamāta garuyaahuyapajjavā aṇamāta agurulahuyapajjava* 1” *Bhagavati Sutra*, 2.1.90. ; “*Javā aṇamāta agurulahuyapajjavā evāṁ jāva loke, bhāvaṁ naṁ aloe nevatthi vaṇṇapajjava jāva agurulahuyapajjavā ege ajivada-vvadese jāva aṇamtabhāgiṇe* 1” Ibid., 11. 1. 420.
5. *Bhagavati* 11. 1. 420: ; *Alokasya punaḥ kevalākāśātmakatvan's* 1” *Pravacanasāra*, 11, 36. *pradīpikā*, p. 180.

sics defines the bounds and borders between the Universe and the Non-Universe and makes a distinction between them on the basis of the existence of principles of Motion and Rest and infinite modes of colour, smell, etc. upto infinite modes of neither heaviness nor lightness in the former and their non-existence in the latter. But the question remains to be solved how the Non-Universe also possesses the attribute of accommodation (avagāhanā) when there is nothing in it except empty space. The problem can be solved in this way that as Loka is supported in the middle of aloka, it functions as the locus of the former as a part of ākāśa which is self-contained. Rationally considered, ākāśa (space) is Nature. The Jaina view of the infinite modes of agurulaghuguṇas¹ operating in Loka (Universe) with rythmic rise and fall is thought-provoking for comparing them with oscillating model of the Universe of the evolutionary cosmology of modern science, though the principle of Motion (Dharma) does not operate beyond the Universe (Loka).

The Jaina cosmic order, viz. avakāśāntara (sky or intervening space), tanuvāta (rarefied air or state), ghanavāta (high dense air), ghanodadhi (cloudy atmosphere or galaxie), pṛthivī (earth), dvīpas (islands), sāgaras (seas) and varṣas (continents).²

The study of these outlines of the Jaina concept of space clearly reveals that space is absolute, permanent fixed, non-corporeal, single, immovable, penetrable substance and capable of receiving the succession of things in motion and all other substances, as it is conceived as positional quality of the world of material objects and as container of material objects³ and other substances from the standpoints of dravya (substance), kṣetra (locus), kāla (time) and bhāva (condition).

Alokasya punaḥ kevalākāśātmakatvaṃ 1''

Pravacanasāra, II, 36. pradīpikā, p. 180.

1. Bhagavatī Sūtra, 2. 1. 90; 11. 1. 420.

2. Evaṃ loyante ekkekkeṇaṃ saṃjoeyavve imehim tṭhaṇehim, taṃjahā-ovāsavāyaghaṇaudahī puḍhavi divā ya sāgarā vāsā 1'', Bhagavatī Sūtra, 1. 6. 54.

Ghanodadhi is the milky way—the galaxie—the mixed system of stars and ether luminary bodies forming the starry region.

3. (a) Space without a material object is inconceivable.

(b) A material object can only be conceived as existing in Space; Space then appears as a reality which in a certain sense is superior to the material world. Both space-concepts—are free evations of the human imagination, means devised for easier comprehension of our sense experience—Ceinstein, Concepts of Space, P. XIV.

CONTRIBUTION OF JAINISM TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF BUDDHISM

Dr. Bhagchandra Jain

Both, Jainism and Buddhism are the main branches of Śramaṇic cultural system. The existence of Jainism has already been proved earlier than that of Buddhism on the basis of Buddhist literature in general and Pāli literature in particular itself¹. As both the religions were taught within the same geographical area during the same historical period, a high degree of mutual ideological influence was inevitable. To what extent Jainism has contributed to the development of Buddhism is purview of the present article.

The Buddha and Jainism

The Buddha seems to have ordained in the Pārśvanātha tradition before he attained enlightenment. He himself says that he experimented with the four types of religious practices of severe penance (tapa), self-mortification (lūkha), avoidance (jeguucchā), and seclusion (pavivattā). This reference, especially avoidance, appears to be connected with Jainism for it is said "I used to walk up and down conscientiously extending my compassion even to a drop of water, praying that even the dangerous bacteria in it may not come to harm".² Such practices are mentioned at another place in the Tripiṭaka³ which can be compared with Jaina practices.⁴

Ācārya Devasena (8th century) says that the Buddha was a great learned disciple of the saint Pihitāśrava who ordained him as Muni Buddhakīrti in the Sangha of Pārśvanātha. But after a time the Buddha started taking flesh and dead fish as food and putting on a red cloth, he preached his own Dhamma, saying that there was no harm in taking food.⁵

This fact is more important with the view that the Buddha had started his religion with taking essence from all the systems that prevailed

1. Jacobi, H.—Jaina Sūtras, Pt. II, SBE, xiv, intro, pp. xx-xxi; Jain, Bhagchandra—Jainism in Buddhist Literature.
2. Majjhima Nikāya, ii, 77
3. *ibid.* i, 238.
4. Jain, Bhagchandra—Jainism in Buddhist Literature, p. 116
5. Darśanasāra, 6-9.

at that period. To which extent Jainism made a contribution to the development of Buddhism can be seen thorough its Ethics and Philosophy.

Ethics

Jaina ethics seems to be in a more organised form than that of Buddhist ethics found in the Tripiṭaka. A number of rules and regulations to the Buddhist monks and nuns were made on the basis of Jaina ethics.

During the rainy season a Jaina ascetic is supposed to stop his touring and abstain from causing injury to vegetable beings which grow profusely during this time.¹ The rule was so popular that the people criticised the Buddhist monks for not adhering to it at the beginning, "How can these recluses, Sākyaputtiyas, walk on tour during the cold weather and hot weather and rain trampling down the crops and grasses, injuring life that is one-facultied and bringing many small creatures to destruction? Shall it be that these members of other sects, whose rules are badly kept, cling to and prepare a rains-residence, shall it be that birds having made their nests in the tree-tops, cling to a proper rains-residence, which these recluses trample on walking"². Then the Buddha prescribed the rules pertaining to the observance of indoor residence in the rainy season. Here the word "Aññatitthiyā" refers to the heretical teachers. We are not aware of this rule in their doctrines, except in those of Nigantha Nātaputta.

Besides, most of the rules and regulations, such as drinking filtered water, not to eat at night, not to take a bath, sikkhāpadas, pācittiyasa etc. laid down in the Pātimokkha of the Buddhist Vinaya are similar to the Jaina Vinaya laid down in the Ācārāṅgasūtra, Bhagavatisūtra, Niśītha, Dasavaikālika, Bhagavati-Ārādhana, Upāsakadaśāṅga, Sāgāra-Ānagāra-dharmāmṛta etc. The treatment of Pañcavratas, Triratnas etc. of Jainas can be seen in somewhat different way in Buddhist Vinaya.

Philosophy

(1) As regards the existence of soul, Buddhism was originally in favour of putting the problem under the Avyākṛita (which cannot be explained) questions by the heading "Tathāgata hoti na vā" and said that it is of no use to the attainment of Nirvāṇa. Later on, the theory was negatively approached by saying Anattā. The next stage of the development of the theory was that in the Sammutisacca (practical

1. Mūlacāra, 3. 35-36.

2. Vinaya Piṭaka, i. 137

standpoint of view) the existence of soul can be accepted but the real standpoint (Paramatthasacca) is that there is no soul as such.¹

The background of Sammutisacca and Paramatthasacca must have been created by Jaina philosophy as by the time of the composition of the Tripiṭaka the conception of Saccas became popular in Jaina Āgamas.

(2) Conception of God in Buddhism is about the same as preached in Jainism. There is no God in Jainism who creates and discreates the universe. Any one can be a Tirthaṅkara by attaining complete pureliness according to its philosophy. Human race cannot be distinguished by its birth. It is Karma of self which is the main reason behind happiness and sorrow.

Pāli literature contains some valuable references to the Jaina doctrine of Karma possibly belonging to Pārśvanātha tradition. Triyoga is the most significant aspect of Jaina ethics in that it explains the origin of karmas and their attachment to the soul through the three means of word, deed, and thought. This is also called the Tridaṇḍa Karma.² The Buddha also recognises the tridaṇḍa karma but in a somewhat different way. It is well-known how the Buddha generally gave new meanings to old philosophical and ethical terms and taught new doctrines based on them. The famous Triyoga or Tridaṇḍa doctrine was originally a Jaina dogma. The Buddha himself has ascribed it to Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta before refuting it as the statement of Dīghatapaṣṣī, the follower of Pārśvanātha.³

Jaina conception of Karma influenced the Buddha at length. He preached the same thing as follows:

- (i) Kammaṃ satte vibhajati yadidaṃ hīnapanītatayā.⁴
- (ii) Kammā vipākā vattanti vipāko kammaṣaṃbhavo.
Kammā punabbhavo honti evaṃ loko pavattati.⁵
- (iii) Tumhehi kiccaṃ ātappam akkhātāro tathāgato.
- (vi) Attadīpo bhava.⁶

In this connection we can also go through the Abhidhamma philosophy which is of later representation of the Buddhist Karma theory. Both, the Jaina and Buddhist Karma theory, make a start

1. See the author's book "Bauddha Sanskriti ka Itihāsa" in detail.

2. Samvayaṅga, 3.1.

3. Majjhima Nikāya, i. 372. ff.

4. ibid. Cūlakammavibhaṅgasuttanta.

5. Vibhaṅga, 426.

6. Dhammapada, 20. 4.

and an end on one and the same point but with a different nature of treatment. A critical and comparative study of the theory should be made out so that some psychological points could be created with a new investigation.

(3) Reality possesses infinite characters which cannot be perceived or known at once by an ordinary man. Different people think about different aspects of the same reality and therefore their partial findings are contradictory to one another. Hence, they indulge in debates claiming that each of them was completely true. The Jaina philosophers thought over this conflict and tried to reveal the whole truth by establishing the theory of non-absolutist standpoint (*anekāntavāda*) with its two wings, *Nayavāda* and *Syādvāda*.

The Buddha mentions ten possible ways of claiming knowledge in the course of addressing the *Kālamas*.¹ Out of them, the eighth way, viz. *Nayahetu* is a method of statement which leads a meaning to a particular judgement.² The *Jātaka* says that the wise man draws a particular standpoint³. In about the same meaning *Naya* is used in Jaina philosophy. The '*Nayahetu*' of Buddhism appears to indicate the Jaina influence of *Naya*, and it would have been made a part of its own in the form of two types of *Saccas*, viz. *Sammutisacca* and *Paramatthasacca*, which are used in about the same sense as *Paryāyārthikanaya* and *Davyārthikanaya* or *Vyavahāranaya* and *Niścayanaya*. The words *Sunaya* and *Dunnaya* are also found in Buddhism used in identical way*.

(ii) During the Buddha's time there were certain philosophical points which became the subjects of violent debate. Having realised the futility of such debates the Buddha became an analyst, like the Jainas.⁵ In the *Dighanikāya* the Buddha is reported to have said that he had taught and laid down his doctrines with categorical (*ekāṃśika*) and non-categorical (*anekāṃśika*) assertions.⁶ The theory of Four-Noble-Truths is an example of the former, and the theory of *Avyākṛtas* is of the latter.

Here the term '*ekāṃśika*' and '*anekāṃśika*' are very similar to *ekāntavāda* and *anekāntavāda*. The former is concerned with the

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1. *Aṅguttara Nikāya* ii. 191-3.
 2. *Nayena neti*, Sam. N. ii. 58; *Anayena neti Dummedho*, J. iv. 241.
 3. *Nayam Nayati Medhavi*, J. iv. 241.
 4. *Aṅguttaranikāya*, iii. 178; *Netti*. 21; J. iv. 241; *Theragāthā*, 106, 1226.
 5. *Vibhajjavāyam ca vyāgatejja*, Sukr. 1. 14. 22.
 6. *Dighanikāya*, i. 191; *Majjhimanikāya*, ii. 197.

non-Jaina philosophies and the latter with the Jaina philosophy. The difference between the Buddha's and Jaina's standpoints is that according to the former's conception the non-categorical assertions are not true or false, from some standpoint or another, unless we analyse them; while the latter upholds the view that all the statements are relatively (syāt) correct, i.e. they contain some aspect of the truth. The theory of Avyākṛta does not consist of any such quality.

(iii) A thing which possesses three aspects utpāda (origination), vyaya (destruction) and dhrauvya (permanence through birth and decay) is called Dravya in Jainism and Saṃskṛita in Buddhism. Jainism regards the Dravya with having permanent-in-change but Buddhism in later period tries to prove it completely momentary (kṣaṇika) and voidness (śūnya).

These are the main fields where we can point out the contribution of Jainism to the development of Buddhism. This subject needs a thorough study.



CONCEPT OF JAIN MYSTICISM

Dr. P.M. Upadhye

Religions in India have had a good background of mysticism without exception with immemorial traditions. This background explains to us spiritual meaning of existence and wisdom of goodness. Moreover as Dr. Radhakrishnan has pointed out, spiritual insight of sages is marked by a certain moral integrity, a fundamental loyalty, a fine balance of individual desires and social demands. Spiritual life is the true genius of India.¹ Jainism which is acclaimed to be one of the oldest religions in India also followed and advocated the path of spiritual life, thereby leading to mysticism in its true sense.

Jainism has been looked upon as a Nāstika-school but it is a misnomer to dub it in that fashion and to equate it with the schools like the Cārvāka school. No doubt Jainism does not accept the authority of the Vedas or the Brahman as the creator, sustainer and destroyer of the world. Jainas do believe in Mokṣa for which the followers are asked to practise a detached life with a desire to liberate themselves from worldly life. This idea is in tune with the Vedānta view of Mokṣa. It is therefore worthwhile to understand the concept of Jain mysticism. In this connection Dr. A.N. Upadhye, a great orientalist and scholar of Prakrit and Jainology has written on Jain mysticism in his edition "Paramātaprakāśa and Yogasāra"² wherein he has shown briefly very many facets of Jain mysticism. An attempt is therefore made in this article to consider the mystical aspect in Jainism, not touched by Dr. A.N. Upadhye in his edition referred to.

The world mysticism has been variously interpreted.³ Dr. Jacques de Marquette rightly points out that there is still a vast department of religion which is entirely other worldly, it is the realm of mystic endeavour.⁴ Mystical experience gives man a first hand experience of

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1. The Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. V, Introduction Page XXIII.
 2. Introduction to this edition pages 29-44.
 3. See Encyclopaedia of Philosophy. Vol. V, Encyc. of Britanica Vol. 15. Preface to Mysticism in Maharashtra by R.D. Ranade.
Mysticism by Annie Beasant;
Mysticism by R. Otto.
 4. Introduction to Comparative Mysticism p. 16.

reality without passing through any sense-activity as well as resorting to any rational induction and deduction. Dr. Marquette also states that the fundamental idea of mysticism is that the essence of life and of world is an all-embracing spiritual substance which is the reality in the course of all-beings irrespective of their outer appearance or activities.¹ It is thus that the mystics of all ages and countries form of eternal divine society, there is no racial, no communal, no national prejudices among them, time and space have nothing to do with the eternal and infinite character of their mystical experience.² It is well known that the mystic identifies himself with the universe and finds the universe in himself. In Jainism, mysticism is also an integral part of its philosophy. The very life of the prophets of Jain church from Ṛṣabha to Mahāvīra will indicate that they are the world mystics of high order. The Jain Āgama literature is also replete with many mystical elements. We will touch some of them in this article and show how the concept of Jain mysticism is not different from that of contemporary religions.

The Jain Āgamas have had their origin in the words of the prophets like Mahāvīra and others. According to Bhadrabāhu's commentary of Āvaśyakaniryukti, the Divine Arhat explained the Āgamas and the Gaṇadharas put them in the sūtra form.³ Thus we find that the origin of the Jain Scriptures lies in the niṣadyatraya. Three questions asked by Indrabhūti to Mahāvīra who answered them known as Tripadi. The three questions are किं तत्तं ? and the answers are:

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|-----------------|----------------------------|
| (1) उष्ण्णेइ वा | everything has a creation. |
| (2) विगमेइ वा | everything perishes. |
| (3) ध्रुवेइ वा | everything is eternal. |

These three answers given by Mahāvīra, constitute the essence of Jain philosophy in a nut shell. Though Mahāvīra spoke very few words like a mystic, he answered all the questions of Indrabhūti. He could visualise the real nature of the world and he spoke in a sūtra from which became later on a philosophical school. This would remind us of small sentences in the Upaniṣads like 'सत्यं ज्ञानं अनन्तं ब्रह्म' etc.⁴ full of mystical experience. Mahāvīra also spoke his mystical experience in these answers. This can be regarded as intellectual mysticism. Mystical life involves a full exercise of the intellect and feeling and will. A mystic must have a penetrating, accurate and

1. Ibid, page 24.

2. Mysticism in Maharashtra by R.D. Ranade, preface p. 2-3.

3. अत्यं भासइ अरहा, सुत्तं गंथंति गणहरा निउणं ।

4.a Taittiriyaopaniṣad, Brahmānanda vallī, Mantra. 31

unfaltering intellect.¹ Then only mystics could think of what was immortal. Mahāvīra's speech belonged to this order and it was claimed to be cool, clear-sighted, serene and pure. In the Jain literature we will come across many passages which would indicate intellectual mysticism. In the 1st chapter of the Thāṇāṅga it is stated that there is one A tinan—'ege āyā'. It is in tune with spiritual thought of the Upaniṣads. The dialogue between Mahāvīra and Gautama in Viyāhaṇṇatti belongs to this sphere of mysticism. The ninth chapter of the Uttarādhyayana sūtra, describes how king Nami renounced the world and he was not moved from his resolution in spite of many attractions shown to him by Indra. Nami's answers to Indra are undoubtedly thought-inspiring and constitute the mystical element. Nami reminds us of King Janaka of the Upaniṣadic times who was a great mystic of his time.² Similarly the dialogue between a Brahmin by name Vijayaghoṣa and monk Jayaghoṣa explains the words like Yajña and Brāhmaṇa in a symbolic way.³ Jayaghoṣa says that it is not by shaving one becomes a 'Samaṇa', it is not by muttering 'om' one becomes a Brahmin but it is by Brahmacarya, one becomes a Brāhmin.⁴ The entire dialogue reveals spiritual knowledge acquired by Jayaghoṣa. Jainism is marked by such spiritual attitude towards life and it is seen in the lives of Tīrthaṅkaras, Siddhas and even in the lives of Samaṇas. Rajmatī's reply to Rathanemi is also worth-noting as it contains philosophical view about sex life.⁵ She was beyond all pleasures. Dr. A.N. Upadhye rightly observes that sex impulse is considered by Jain moralists as the most dangerous impediment on the path of spiritual realisation, so sensual consciousness has no place whatsoever in Jain mysticism.⁶ Prof. R.D. Ranade, who was a mystic himself, observed that spirituality is gained not by making common cause with sexuality but by rising superior to it,⁷ and that there are no sexual relations possible with god and eroticism has no place in mysticism.⁸ Love mysticism or Bride-mysticism as called by Rudolf Otto, has no place in Jainism. Jainism insists on high moral standards and strict discipline for monks and nuns alike as well as for laymen and laywomen. This seems to be a special feature of Jainism.

Jainism believes in fourfold knowledge viz., Mati, Śruti, Avadhi and Manahparyāya and the absolute and perfect knowledge

1. Mysticism in Maharashtra, preface p. 27.
2. See Bṛihadāraṇyakopaniṣad III. Bhāgavata Purāṇa. IX-13.
3. Uttarādhyayana sūtra Chapter 25. 4. Uttarā. 25. 31.32
5. Uttara. 22nd Chapter-42, 43-44.
6. Paramataprakāṣa-Introduction p. 14
7. Mysticism in Maharashtra p. 10. 8. Ibid, page 12.

is called Kevala in which knowledge is allround and without condition. Sanmatitarka of Siddhasena Divākara and Syādvādamāñjarī of Mallisena uphold the view of the Anekāntavāda of Jainas and establish how it is superior to other views of non-Jain schools. The very idea of Syādvāda or Kevalajñāna is itself quite mystical because it will indicate supra-sensuous faculty of a man to reach the reality. The fruit of such knowledge is Mokṣa because the liberated individual has no consciousness of time-condition limited world, he has 'Tri-kāladrṣṭi' in which past, present and future exist together for ever.

Apart from this intellectual mysticism, there are elements of ascetic mysticism in Jainism. The very discipline for observing vows, major or minor, will speak for itself. Jainism asks the Sādhakas to put up with 22 Paṛiśahas at any cost.¹ They are preached by Mahāvīra. They consist of physical, mental and wordy troubles, knowing which a monk can tread his spiritual path successfully. In the 2nd Khaṇḍa of the Praśnavyākaraṇa Ahimsā is called Bhagavatī. Ahimsā, is the corner-stone of Jain philosophy. It should be followed in letter and spirit. There are many stories of Jain monks who followed Ahimsā in true spirit at the cost of their life. The story of Meyajjaraṣi is well-known.² At the cost of his life he saved the life of a bird. Unless he was a mystic, it was impossible for him to follow Ahimsā, in this manner. Many mystics of this type are found in Jain literature.

The fourteen stages viz. Guṇasthānas leading to emancipation, speak of spiritual position of souls on the path of liberation. Regarding ugly soul, Plotinus tells us that an ugly soul is intemperate and unjust, full of lusts, full of confusion, fearful through cowardice, envious through meanness, thinking nothing but what is mortal and base, crooked in all its parts, living a life of fleshy fashion and thinking ugliness delightful.³ He opposes the will of god and lolls in the dung-hill of misery, the very sewage pit of the world of existence.⁴ We will get the identical description of an ugly soul in Jainism. The description of meritorious soul as well as sinful soul, 6 leśyas which are the different states of mind of embodied souls, possessing distinctive colour, touch and smell would also throw light on Jain mysticism which takes into account the real nature of souls.

Lastly we may take into account devotional mysticism in Jainism. The Uvāsagadasāo narrates stories of Ānanda and Saddālaputta and

1. See Ācarāṅga Dhūtādhyayana & Uttarādhyayana II

2. Upadeśamālā III.

3. See Mysticism in Maharashtra—R.D. Ranade, preface p. 11.

4. Ibid, Preface page 12.

others who were devoted to Jainism and who reached their goal due to devotion. The salutation to Pañcaparameṣṭhins, who represent the ideal in life at the different stages of realisation is a devotional one. Charity with faith and devotion is a glorified virtue. The Stotra literature such as Mānatuṅga's Bhayahara, Jinakīrti Sūri's Parameṣṭhi namaskāra stotra and praise-verses in honour of Mahāvīra in different works of Jain writers will constitute devotional mysticism in Jainism.

Haribhadrasūri's yoga drṣṭisamuccaya;

Ramasenācārya's Tattvānuśāsana,

Yogīndudeva's Yogasāra and such other works, would represent metaphysical cum intellectual mysticism in Jainism.

There will be many more elements of mysticism in Jainism. We have taken at random the samples from Jain works of different periods for the sake of mysticism and our study reveals that the Jain mysticism has all the constituent factors as found in other schools. We find in Jain mysticism an element of universality and there are intellectual, devotional and ascetic aspects of mysticism. Comprehension of non-violence brought about equality and universality. Jainism proclaims that spiritual liberation is the highest goal of human life. We may conclude in the following words. "It is this wonderful spiritual heritage of man that Naciketas would have from the lord of death, in preference to the overlordship of the three worlds offered to him. It is this heritage again that Maitreyi's preference to all the accumulated wealth which was offered by her husband Yājñavalkya. Again it is to inherit this kingdom that prince Siddhārtha cast away his father's kingdom as worthless and put on the mendicant's robe in preference to the royal crown. This is the message of Jainism to mankind. Be a man first and last, for the kingdom of God belongs to the son of man. It is this same truth that is proclaimed in unmistakable terms by the Upaniṣadic text 'Tat tvam asi'-Thou art that¹. The concept of Jain mysticism contains all essentials of mysticism. Mysticism proclaims that wealth and glory are nothing in comparison to spiritual life. Jain mysticism also speaks of spiritual meaning of existence and wisdom of goodness and this is indeed a great heritage of India".



1. *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. V, page 433.

JAINA ETHICAL THEORY

Dr. Kamal Chand Sogani

It cannot be controverted that human nature is essentially end-oriented. This end-orientation of man implies that human life is a striving towards certain ends. In other words, "it is so thoroughly teleological that it cannot be understood apart from what it is seeking to become."¹ The discipline which deals with the process of seeking and striving in terms of good and bad, and consequently in terms of right and wrong is termed Normative ethics and the judgements like A was a good man, to harm someone is wrong are known as Normative judgements of Value and Obligation respectively. Again, the discipline which aims at philosophical analysis of ethical terms or concepts like 'right', 'good' etc., which asks the meaning and definition of such terms, seeks justification of normative judgements, discusses their nature, and is concerned with the analysis of freedom and responsibility is termed Meta-ethics. Besides, there is descriptive historical inquiry to explain the phenomena of morality in the various periods of history. Thus normative ethics, meta-ethics, and descriptive ethics constitute three kinds of ethical inquiry. In the present paper, I propose to look at Jaina ethics from the normative and meta-ethical perspectives, to the exclusion of its descriptive historical inquiry. In other words, I shall not be describing the Ācāra of the Householder and that of the Muni in the various periods of history, but shall be dealing with some of the questions regarding value and obligation and meta-ethics from the point of view of Jaina ethics in order to bring out of the contribution of the Jaina to the above ethical questions.

Let us start with the Jaina theory of value, then go on to the Jaina theory of obligation and finally to the Jaina theory of meaning and justification of the judgements of value and obligation (Meta-ethics). The question that confronts us is: What is intrinsically desirable, good or worthwhile in life according to the Jaina? What intrinsic values are to be pursued according to him? The answer that may be given is this: What is intrinsically good or valuable or what ought to be chosen for its own sake is the achievement of Ahimsā of all living beings, the attainment of knowledge, the realisation of happiness, the leading of virtuous life, and the experiencing of freedom and good emotions. Thus the criterion of intrinsic goodness or the good-making

1. Blanshard, Reason and Goodness, p. 316.

characteristic shall be the fulfilment of ends like Ahimsā, knowledge, virtues etc. and the satisfaction that attends their fulfilment. We may say here that goodness is a matter of degree and this depends on the degree of fulfilment of ends and the resulting satisfaction therefrom. An altogether good shall be wholly fulfilling the ends and wholly satisfying the seeker. The Jaina texts speak of the partial realisation of Ahimsā and the complete realisation of Ahimsā and of other ends. This theory of intrinsic goodness may be called Ahimsā-Utilitarianism. This means that this theory considers Ahimsā and other ends to be the general good. But it may be noted here that this general good shall not be possible without one's own good. What I mean to say is that seeking the good of others shall be not only a means to my own but my own good shall consist partly in seeking theirs. Thus by this theory of Ahimsā-Utilitarianism narrow egoism is abandoned. This Ahimsā-Utilitarianism is to be distinguished from Hedonistic Utilitarianism of Mill, but it has some resemblance with the Ideal Utilitarianism † of Moore and Rashdall. The point to be noted here is that Moore distinguishes between good as a means and good as an end (good in itself). When we say that an action or a thing is good as a means, we say that it is liable to produce something which is good in itself (Intrinsically good). The Jaina recognises that Ahimsā can be both good as a means and good as an end. This means that both means and ends are to be tested by the criterion of Ahimsā. I may say in passing that the principle that "the end justifies the means" need not be rejected as immoral if the above criterion of means and ends is conceded. It may look paradoxical that Ahimsā is an end. But it is not so. Perhaps in order to avoid this misunderstanding that Ahimsā cannot be an end, the Sūtrakṛtāṅga has pronounced that Ahimsā is the highest good. In a similar vein, Samantabhadra has also said that Ahimsā of all living beings is equivalent to the realisation of the highest good. This shows that there is no inconsistency in saying that Ahimsā is both an end and a means. Thus the expression Ahimsā-Utilitarianism seems to me to be the most apt one to represent the Jaina theory of intrinsic goodness.

† The view of ethics which combines the utilitarian principle that ethics must be teleological with a non-hedonistic view of the ethical end, I propose to call Ideal Utilitarianism. Rashdall, *Theory of Good and Evil*, Vol. I, p. 184.

1. Moore, *Principia Ethica*, pp. 21, 22.
2. Sūtrakṛtāṅga, 1.11.11.
3. Frankena, *Ethics*, p. 11.

Let us now proceed to the Jaina theory of Obligation. "The ultimate concern of the normative theory of obligation is to guide us in the making of decisions and judgements about actions in particular situations". Here the question that confronts us is this: How to determine what is morally right for a certain agent in a certain situation? Or what is the criterion of the rightness of actions? The inter-related question is: What we ought to do in a certain situation? Or how duty is to be determined? The answer of the Jaina is that right, ought and duty cannot be separated from the good. The criterion of what is right etc. is the greater balance of good over bad that is brought into being than any alternative. Thus the view that regards goodness of the consequences of actions as the right-making characteristic is termed teleological theory of obligation as distinguished from the de-ontological theory of obligation which regards an action as right or obligatory simply because of its own nature regardless of the consequences it may bring into being. The Jaina ethics holds the teleological theory of obligation (Maximum balance of Ahimsā over Himśā as the right-making characteristic).

The question now arises whether Jaina ethics subscribes to act-approach or rule-approach in deciding the rightness or wrongness of actions. The former is called act-utilitarianism, while the latter rule-utilitarianism. It seems to me that though the Jaina Ācāryas have given us moral rules, yet in principle they have followed act-utilitarianism, according to which every action is to be judged on the goodness of the consequences expected to be produced. Since to calculate the consequences of each and every action is not practically possible, Jaina Ācāryas have given us guiding moral principles in the form of Aṇuvratas and Mahāvratas, Guṇavratas and Śikṣāvratas and so on. This means that Jaina ethics accepts the possibility that sometimes these general moral principles may be inadequate to the complexities of the situation and in this case a direct consideration of the particular action without reference to general principles is necessary. May be, keeping this in view, Samantabhadra argues that truth is not to be spoken when by so doing the other is entangled in miseries¹; Svāmi Kumara in the Kārttikeyānuprekṣā disallows to purchase things at low price in order to maintain the vow of non-stealing². According to rule-utilitarianism exceptions cannot be allowed. This implies that Jaina ethics does not allow superstitious rule-worship, but at the same time prescribes that utmost caution is to be taken in breaking the rule, which

1. Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvakācāra, 55.

2. Kārttikeyānuprekṣā, 335

3. Blanshard, Reason and Goodness, p. 332.

has been built up and tested by the experience of generations. This according to Jaina ethics acts are logically prior to rules and the rightness of the action is situational.

This is of capital importance to note here that according to Jaina ethics, there is no such thing as a moral obligation which is not an obligation to bring about the greatest good. To call an action a duty is dependent on the fact of producing a greater balance of good over evil in the universe than any other alternative. Duty is not self-justifying; it is not an end in itself. "The very nature of duty is to aim beyond itself. There can no more be a duty to act, if there is no good to attain by it, than to think if there is no truth to be won by thinking." Thus duty is an extrinsic good, good as a means; this does not deprive duty of its importance in ethical life, just as health does not become unimportant by its being extrinsic good. The pursuance of Aṇuvratas for the householder and the Mahāvratas for the Muni may be regarded as dutiful actions.

In view of the above it seems to me that Jaina ethics will look with critical eye at the deontologism of Prichard and Ross. According to Ross there are self-evidently binding *prima facie* duties such as duties of gratitude, duties of self-improvement, duties of Justice etc. The conviction of the Jaina is that all these duties are conducive to good as an end. Hence they should be followed because of the conduciveness to good, and not because that they are independent of good consequences.

We have so far considered the criterion by which we are to determine what we morally ought to do in a given situation, how the rightness or wrongness of actions is to be decided. But the question that remains to be discussed is: How is the moral worth of an action to be evaluated? How does in Jaina terminology an action become *Punya* and *Pāpa*-engendering? In other words, how does an action become virtuous and vicious, praiseworthy or blameworthy, morally good or bad? 1) It is likely that an action by the criterion of rightness may be externally right but internally immorally motivated. A man may seem to be doing things according to a moral rule, but it may be with a bad motive. 2) Again, an action by the standard of rightness may be externally wrong, but it may be done with a good motive. For example, one may kill the rich in order to serve the poor. 3) An action may be externally right and done with good motive. 4) An action may be externally wrong and done with a bad motive. Thus there are four possibilities: 1) Right action and bad motive, 2) Wrong action and good motive, 3) Right action and good motive and 4) Wrong action and bad motive. The third and fourth categories of actions which

according to Jaina ethics may be called Śubha (auspicious) and Aśubha (inauspicious) leśyas are respectively called virtuous and vicious, are actions having moral merit and demerit. The concept of Leśyas in Jainism also invites our attention to the fact that the degree of praise-worthiness and blameworthiness of actions will depend on the degree of intensity of good and bad motives. The first category of actions (Right action and bad motive) may look proper externally but its moral significance is zero. All deceptions are of this nature. The moral worth of the second category of actions (Wrong action and good motive) is complicated and can be decided on the nature of the case. Though in Jaina ethical works the importance of good motive is recognised as contributing towards the moral merit of an action, yet the Jaina Ācāryas have clearly stated that he who exclusively emphasizes the internal at the expense of the external forgets the significance of outward behaviour. In consequence, both the internal and external aspects should occupy their due places. Ewing rightly observes that "they (good motives) lead us into evil courses on occasion if there is not at the back of our minds a moral consciousness which prevents this, so the strictly moral motive should always in a sense be present potentially".

Let us now try to find out the answer of the Jaina to certain meta-ethical questions. The fundamental questions to be taken into account are: 1) What is the nature of ethical judgments (Obligatory and Value) according to the Jaina? and 2) What is their justification? These two are the main questions of ethics in our times. The contemporary moral philosophy has concerned itself with this almost excluding normative ethics; It is not interested so much in practical guidance even of a very general kind as in theoretical understanding and conceptual clarification of ethical judgments.

Let me now state the first question more clearly. There have been recognised three kinds of knowledge. 1) Knowledge of fact, as, this flower is yellow; 2) Knowledge of necessity, as $7+5=12$; and 3) Knowledge of value, as A was a good man or murder is wrong. The question under discussion reduces itself to this: Are ethical judgements expressive of any cognitive content in the sense that they may be asserted true or false, or do they simply express emotions, feelings etc. The upholders of the former view are known as cognitivists, while those holding the latter view are known as non-cognitivists (emotivists). When we say that Himsā is wrong, are we making a true or false assertion or are we experiencing simply feeling? Or are we doing both? According to the cognitivists, the ethical judgement, Himsā is wrong is

1. Puruṣārthasiddhyupāya, 50.
2. Ewing, Ethics, P. 129.


capable of being objectively true and thus moral knowledge is objective, whereas the non-cognitivists deny both the objectivity of assertion and knowledge, in as much as according to them ethical judgements are identified with feeling, emotions etc. Here the position taken by the Jaina seems to me to be that though the statement, *Himsā* is wrong is objectively true, yet it cannot be divested of the feeling element involved in experiencing the truth of the statement. In moral life knowledge and feeling cannot be separated. The *Tattvārthasūtra*¹ pronounces that the path of goodness can be traversed only by right knowledge (*Darśana* and *Jñāna*) and feeling and activity (*Cāritra*). *Amṛtacandra*² says that first of knowledge of right, wrong and good is to be acquired, afterwards moral life is to be practised. Thus the conviction of the Jaina is that the experience of value and obligation is bound up with our feelings and that in their absence we are ethically blind. In fact knowledge and feeling are so interwoven into a complex harmony that we have never a state of mind in which both are not present in some degree. So the claims of cognitivists and non-cognitivists are one-sided and are very much antagonistic to the verdict of experience. Blanshard rightly remarks, "Nature may spread before us the richest possible banquet of good things, but if we can look at them only with the eye of reason, we shall care for none of these things; they will be alike insipid. There would be no knowledge of good and evil in a world of mere knowers, for where there is no feeling good and evil would be unrecognisable."³ And a life that directs itself by feeling even of the most exalted kind will be a ship without a rudder. Thus the nature of ethical judgement according to the Jaina is cognitive-affective. The achievement of good is a joint product of our power to know and our power to feel.

The next question in meta-ethics is to ask how our ethical judgements (Value and obligation) can be justified. That the ethical judgements are objectively true need not imply that their justification can be sought in the same manner as the justification of factual judgements of ordinary and scientific nature. The reason for this is that Fact cannot be derived from Value, Is Ought. In factual judgements our expressions are value-neutral, but in ethical judgements we cannot be indifferent to their being sought by ourselves or by others. That is why derivation of ought from is, fact from value is unjustifiable. The value Judgements according to the Jaina are self-evident and can only be known by intuition, thus they are self-

1. *Tattvārthasūtra*, i-1
2. *Puruṣārthasiddhyupāya*, 36, 37, 38.
3. Blanshard, *Reason and Goodness*, PP. 68, 69.

justifying. The conviction of the Jaina is that no argument can prove that 'Himsā is evil' and 'Ahimsā is good'. What is intrinsically good or bad can be known only by intuition. The justification of right can be sought from the fact of its producing what is intrinsically good.

In this paper I have ventured to deal with the Jaina ethical theory very briefly in the light of the contemporary discussion of ethical theory. In my view the future Jaina ethics should move in this direction so as to keep pace with the modern discussions of the ethical and meta-ethical problems.



DEFINING THE PRAMĀṆA

R.C. Dwivedi

Definitions of the *Pramāṇa* proposed by the Jain logicians may be broadly divided into six types, the first of which are simply derivative, such as :

(i) प्रमिणोति प्रमीयतेऽनेन प्रमितिमात्रं वा प्रमाणम्.

Pūjyapāda, Sarvārthasiddhi, 1.12

(ii) प्रकर्षेण संशयादिव्यवच्छेदेन मीयते परिच्छिद्यते वस्तुतत्त्वं येन तत् प्रमाणं, प्रमायां साधकतमम् ।

Hemacandra, *Pramāṇamīmāṃsā*, p. 2.

These follow the Nyāya tradition first recorded by Vātsyāyana¹ and continued through the ages² down to the times when popular hand-books, like *Tarkabhāṣā*³ ruled the day.

1. Defining the *pramāṇa* derivatively, that it is the unique and active cause (*karaṇa*)⁴ of valid cognition, serves the purpose of excluding such general conditions of all knowledge as subject (*pramātā*), object (*prameya*), time and space etc. within the scope of means of knowledge. *Pramāṇa* being the source, means instrument or organ of

1. उपलब्धिसाधनानि प्रमाणानीति समाख्यानिर्वचनसामर्थ्याद् बोद्धव्यं प्रमीयतेऽनेनेति करणार्थाभिधानो हि प्रमाणशब्दः । Nyāyabhāṣya, I 1.3
2. (i) प्रमासाधनं हि प्रमाणम् X X X सामान्यलक्षणं तु प्रमाणपदादेव समाख्या-निर्वचनसामर्थ्यसंहितादवगम्यते । Nyāyavārtikatātparyāṭikā p. 21.
(ii) प्रमीयते येन तत्प्रमाणमिति करणार्थाभिधायिनः प्रमाणशब्दात् प्रमाकरणं प्रमाणमवगम्यते । Nyāyamañjarī, p. 25.
3. प्रमाकरणं प्रमाणम् । Tarkabhāṣā
4. व्यापारवदसाधारणं कारणं करणम् । or साधकतमं करणम् ।

The term *Pramāṇa* is formed by suffixing *lyuṭ* (*aṇa*) to *mā* (to measure) prefixed by *pra*.

valid cognition its supreme value in ascertaining and comprehending the truth can hardly be exaggerated.¹

Philosopher of every shade agrees that *pramāṇa* is the only source of valid cognition, knowledge or truth. This initial agreement is followed by sharp disagreement on major issues involved, namely, the nature of instrument (*karāṇa*) and of the knowledge (*pramā*).

2. Vidyānanda, who follows Āgamic tradition or more precisely Gr̥ddhapiccha (Tattvārtha-Sūtra 1.9-10) defines *pramāṇa* as right or valid cognition : सम्यग्ज्ञानं प्रमाणम्.²

In order to assert the Jaina view even the term *pramāṇa* is taken in the sense of abstract state (i.e. *pramiti* or valid cognition³). Knowing, according to Jainism, is a conscious act, the means of knowledge, therefore, can be knowledge itself which is of the nature of cessation of ignorance. According to the Nyāya the means of perceptual knowledge is threefold, namely, sense, sense-object-contact, and cognition. In indeterminate knowledge sense-object-contact is the means, and it is only in generating the attitudes of rejection, accep-

1. (i) प्रमाणादर्थसंसिद्धिस्तदाभासाद्विपर्ययः ।
Māṇikyanandin, Parikṣāmukha, Verse 1.
- (ii) प्रमाणादिष्टसंसिद्धिरन्यथातिप्रसंगतः ।
Vidyānanda, Pramāṇa-parikṣā, p. 63.
- (iii) सम्यग्ज्ञानपूर्विका सर्वपुरुषार्थसिद्धिरिति तद्व्युत्पाद्यते ।
Dharmakīrti, Nyāyabindu, I. 1.
- (iv) मानाधीना मेयसिद्धिः । Nyāya maxim.
- (v) प्रमेयसिद्धिः प्रमाणाद्धि । Sāmkhyakārikā, 4.
2. This simple definition partly echoes the Buddhist definition:
(i) प्रमाणमविस्वादि ज्ञानम् । Dharmakīrti, Pramāṇavārtika, 2.4
This definition has been adopted *verbatim* in the Nyāyāvatāra (p. 3)
3. Besides Pūjyapāda's derivation, the following may also be noted:
प्रमितिः प्रमाणमिति भावव्युत्पत्त्या सम्यग्ज्ञानमेव प्रमाणम् ।
Bhāvasena, Pramāṇaprāmāṇya, pp. 1-2.

tance or indifference, as the case may be, that indeterminate cognition is the means.¹

As both cognition and non-cognition are admitted to be instrument of knowledge in the Nyāya system, Jayanta Bhaṭṭa accepts collocation of the two as the nature (*Svarūpa*) of *pramāṇa*.² According to the Nyāya an object is not known without its contact with the sense. If objects unconnected with the senses were to be cognised then all the objects will be known, but no object, which is beyond our ken is ever known.³ Moreover instrument is always different from the subject and object. "I see the jar with the eyes." In this example eye is the instrument which is different from both the agent, 'I', and the act of seeing. Therefore, knowing itself can't be the instrument.⁴ To this the Jainas reply that even when eye is in contact with the ether, along with a jar, there is no knowledge of the former. So far as the difference of means and result is concerned it can be maintained otherwise. It is only the sentient cognition, which can, like light, illuminate the object and not the insentient sense-contact. Similarly, collocation of different causes including cognition, admitted by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa as the means of knowledge, can't be so regarded. Collocation of causes, like sense-contact, is insentient. Only a sentient cause can produce sentient knowledge. Moreover, the collocation will not be a direct

1. (i) कदा पुनरिन्द्रियं करणम् ? यदा निर्विकल्पकरूपा प्रमा फलम्...यदा निर्विकल्पकानन्तरं सविकल्पकं...ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते, तदेन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षः करणम् ...यदा उक्तसविकल्पकानन्तरं हानोपादानोपेक्षाबुद्ध्यो जायन्ते तदा निर्विकल्पकं ज्ञानं करणम् । Tarkabhāṣā, pp. 48-49

Earlier also in the context of definition of *pramāṇa* it is stated that sense-contact etc. is the instrument and not the subject or the object:

सत्यपि प्रमातरि प्रमेये च प्रमानुत्पत्तेरिन्द्रियसंयोगादौ सति अविलम्बेन प्रमोत्पत्तेरत इन्द्रियसंयोगादिरेव करणम् । *ibid.*, p. 45.

- (ii) यदा सन्निकर्षस्तदा ज्ञानं प्रमितिः, यदा ज्ञानं तदा हानीपादानोपेक्षाबुद्ध्यः फलम् । Nyāyabhāṣya, I. 1.3

2. अव्यभिचारिणीमसंदिग्धामर्थोपलब्धिं विदधती बोधाबोधस्वभावा सामग्री प्रमाणम्, बोधाबोधस्वभावो हि तस्य स्वरूपम् । Nyāyamañjarī, p. 12.
3. ननु सन्निकर्षविगमे किं व्यवहितानुपलब्धिरिति ब्रूमः । यदि ह्यसन्निकृष्टमपि चक्षुरादीन्द्रियमर्थं गृहणीयात् व्यवहितोऽपि ततोऽर्थं उपलभ्येत, न चोपलभ्येत तस्मादस्ति सन्निकर्षः । Nyāyamañjarī, p. 69.
4. Vide, *ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

cause because it will first produce cognition and then only will lead to knowledge. An indirect cause is not a *kaṛaṇa*.¹

The Vaiśeṣikas also define *pramāṇa* as the flawless knowledge.² However, the author of the Vyomavatī, following the line of the Naiyāyikas, regards contact, and cognition as the *pramāṇa*.³

Sāṃkhya⁴ and Yoga⁵ consider *pramāṇa* to be the modification of intellect, which assumes the form of object. This is also not acceptable to the Jainas, firstly because no blind modification of unconscious principle of intellect can create sentient knowledge, and secondly, it is against our experience to say that intellect or sense can assume the form of an object.

According to the Prābhākaras the function of knower (*jñātrvyāpāra*) producing knowledge is considered to be *pramāṇa*.⁶ This is refuted by the Jainas on the ground that the entity named as the function of the knower can't be established by any of the *pramāṇas*.⁷

Like Jainas, Buddhists also define *pramāṇa* in terms of valid cognition and do not regard sense, contact or modification of blind intellect or activity of the cogniser as the means of knowledge. However, the Buddhist contention that cognition of the unique particular (*svalakṣaṇa*), being devoid of all constructions, is indeterminate (*nirvikalpa*) and there is no determinate perception, is unacceptable to the

1. For detailed criticism of the Nyāya view of *pramāṇa*, see Nyāya-kumudacandra, pp. 40-41 and Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa, p. 19.

2. अदुष्टं विद्या । Kaṇāda Sūtra, 9.2.12.

3. Vide Vyomavatī on the Praśastapādabhāṣya, p. 553.

4. (i) सांख्यस्तु बुद्धिवृत्तिः प्रमाणमिति प्रतिपन्नः विषयाकारपरिणतेन्द्रियादिवृत्त्यनुपातिनी बुद्धिवृत्तिरेव पुरुषमुपरञ्जयन्ती प्रमाणम् ।

Nyāyamañjarī, p. 24.

(ii) इन्द्रियप्रणालिकयार्थसन्निकर्षेण लिङ्गज्ञानादिना वा बुद्धेरर्थकारा वृत्तिर्जायते ।

Sāṃkhyapravacanabhāṣya I. 87.

5. प्रमाणं वृत्तिरेव च ।

Yogavāsiṣṭha, p. 30.

6. ज्ञानं हि नाम क्रियात्मकं, क्रिया च फलानुमेया, ज्ञातृव्यापारेण फलानिष्पत्तेः ।

Nyāyamañjarī, p. 16.

Later on Jayanta concludes Mīmāṃsaka's view:

तदेष फलानुमेयो ज्ञानव्यापारो ज्ञानादिशब्दाबाधः प्रमाणम् ।

ibid.

7. See Nyāyakumudacandra, pp. 42-45, and Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa, pp. 20-25.

Jainas on the ground that *pramāṇa* must be definite and competent to decide good and bad so as to be empirically useful.¹ Moreover idealistic Buddhists regard identity between cognition and its content as the organ of knowledge², i.e. object and its cognition are not different. This is clearly unacceptable to the Jainas who consider object external and independent of cognition. Cognition reveals itself and the content but does not assume the form of the object because the abstract cognition can't become concrete. Also in the case of an illusion the cognition even if it were to assume the objective form, does not become knowledge. Hence Buddhist view of identity between cognition and its object or assuming the form of the object³ is clearly untenable.

A question may be asked that if valid cognition is the means of knowledge, then what will be the result, i.e., how the difference in the means and end can be maintained. The Jain reply is that cessation of ignorance or creation of attitudes of rejection, acceptance or indifference on knowing the objects can rightly be taken to be the end of knowledge.⁴

Thus the second type of definition underlines the instrumentality of cognition which is sentient, determinate and different from the object and refutes contact etc. as the *pramāṇa*.⁵

1. हिताहितप्राप्तिपरिहारसमर्थं हि प्रमाणं ततो ज्ञानमेव तत् ।

Parīkṣāmukha, I. 2.

See *Pramāṇamīmāṃsā*, p. 7. Nyāyakumudacandra, pp. 46-48; *Prameyakamalamārtanda*, pp. 32-35, for detailed criticism of the Buddhist view.

2. (i) विषयाधिगतिश्चात्र प्रमाणफलमिष्यते ।

स्ववित्तिर्वा प्रमाणं तु सारूप्यं योग्यतापि वा ॥

Śāntarakṣita, *Tattvasaṃgrahakārikā*, 1344.

- (ii) करणसाधनेन मानशब्देन सारूप्यलक्षणं प्रमाणमभिधीयते ।

Dharmottara, *Nyāyabinduṭīka* on Sūtra 3.

3. स्वसंवित्तिः फलं चात्र ताद्रूप्यार्थनिश्चयः ।

विषयाकार एवास्य प्रमाणं तेन मीयते ॥

Diñnāga, *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, I. 10.

4. (i) ननु चोक्तं ज्ञाने प्रमाणे सति फलाभाव इति । नैष दोषः, अर्थाधिगमे प्रीति-दर्शनात् । सा फलमित्युच्यते, उपेक्षाज्ञाननाशो वा फलम् ।

Pūjyapāda, *Sarvārthasiddhi* I. 10.

- (ii) अज्ञाननिवृत्तिर्हीनोपादानोपेक्षाश्च फलम् ।

Māṇikyanandin, *Parīkṣāmukha*, V. 1.

5. सन्निकषदिज्ञानस्य प्रामाण्यमनुपपन्नमर्थान्तरवत्

[I. 3.

3. Samantabhadra is the first Jaina logician to define the *pramāṇa* as the knowledge which illumines itself and the object.¹ This definition was modified by Siddhasena by adding a new term 'without obstruction'.²

Although this definition bears impact of the Buddhists inasmuch as they had characterised knowledge as self-illuminating³ and of the Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsakas who had used 'without obstruction' in their definition,⁴ yet it sets aside their views as also that of others. While Jainas consider knowledge as illuminating⁵ both the self and the object, the realistic Buddhist, the Naiyāyika⁶ and the Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsaka hold that it illumines the external object alone, as it can't illumine itself. The Jainas assert that if knowledge can't illumine itself it can't cognise the external object either. It should therefore be admitted that knowledge, like a lamp, illumines itself as well as the external object. The very nature of cognition is self-manifesting. It is the manifestation of the object, however, which determines a particular cognition to be valid or invalid.⁷ The Jain view of *pramāṇa* also sets aside the Yogācāra view which maintains that knowledge illumines itself alone because there is no object independent of it. The Upaniṣadic view of Reality

1. स्वपरावभासकं यथा प्रमाणं भुवि बुद्धिलक्षणम्
Svayambhūstotra, 63.
2. प्रमाणं स्वपराभासि ज्ञानं बाधविवर्जितम् ।
Nyāyāvatāra, 1.
3. 'स्वरूपस्य स्वतो गतेः' Also स्वरूपाधिगतेः परम्
Dharmakīrti, Pramāṇavārtika, II. 4.
4. तत्रापूवार्थविज्ञानं निश्चितं बाधवर्जितम्
अदुष्टकारणारब्धं प्रमाणं लोकसम्मतम्
Ascribed to Kumārila but not found in the extant Śloka-vārtika.
Quoted and criticized by Vidyānanda in the Tattvārtha-Śloka-vārtika. I. 10. 71.
5. (i) अज्ञातार्थज्ञापकं प्रमाणम्
(ii) अज्ञातार्थप्रकाशो वा
Dīpṇāga, Pramāṇavārtika, II. 5.
6. (i) अर्थप्रकाशो बुद्धिः Tarkakaumudī, NS. ed. p. 6.
(ii) विज्ञानमनात्मसंवेदनम् ।
Nyāyavārtikatātparyatikā, p. 4.
7. भावप्रमेयापेक्षायां प्रमाणाभासनिवृत्तिः,
वह्निः प्रमेयापेक्षायां प्रमाणं तन्निभं च ते ।
Āptamīmāṃsā, Verse 83.

being consciousness¹ and all else as appearance stands similarly refuted according to the Jainism which maintains the reality of external world.

In order to differentiate knowledge from false cognition illustrated in the cases of false images, wrong beliefs etc., the term 'without any obstruction' has been used. A valid cognition is never erroneous, that will be contradiction in terms.²

This third type of definition thus emphasises the character of knowledge as determinant of both the self and the object and asserts the reality of external phenomenon.³

4. Akalaṅka maintained true cognition to be manifesting both the self and the object.⁴ Further, he proposed another definition of *pramāṇa*⁵ by incorporating the term *avisaṃvādi*⁶ of the Buddhists and 'anadhigata' (unknown) or 'apūrva' (novel) of the Bhāṭṭa *Mīmāṃsakas*.⁷ According to the Buddhists, knowledge, being practi-

1. (i) सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म Taittiriya, II 1.1.
 - (ii) विज्ञानमानन्दं ब्रह्म Brhadāranyaka, III. 28.
 2. (i) न प्रत्यक्षमपि भ्रान्तं प्रमाणत्वविनिश्चयात्,
 भ्रान्तं प्रमाणमित्येतद् विरुद्धवचनं यतः । Nyāyāvātāra, 6.
 - (ii) अनुमानं तदभ्रान्तं प्रमाणत्वात् समक्षवत् । ibid. 5.
 3. सकलप्रतिभासस्य भ्रान्तत्वासिद्धितः स्फुटम् ।
 प्रमाणं स्वात्मनश्चापि द्वयसिद्धौ प्रसिद्ध्यति ॥ ibid. 7.
 4. सिद्धौ यन्न परापेक्ष्यं सिद्धौ स्वपररूपयोः ।
 तत् प्रमाणं ततो नान्यदविकल्पमचेतनम् ॥ Siddhiviniścaya, p. 175.
 5. प्रमाणमविसंवादि ज्ञानमनधिगतार्थाधिगमलक्षणत्वात् । Aṣṭaśaṭi
 6. (i) ततोऽर्थक्रियासमर्थवस्तुप्रकाशकं सम्यग्ज्ञानम् ।
 - (ii) यतश्चार्थसिद्धिस्तत् सम्यक् ज्ञानम् ॥
 - (iii) अविसंवादकं ज्ञानं सम्यग्ज्ञानम् लोके च पूर्वमुपदर्शितमर्थं प्रापयन्संवादक
 उच्यते । तद्वज्ज्ञानमपि स्वयं प्रदर्शितमर्थं प्रापयत् संवादकमुच्यते प्रदर्शिते
 चार्थे प्रवर्तकत्वमेव प्रापकत्वं नाम । Nyāyabindutīkā on Sūtra I,
 7. (i) तत्तापूर्वार्थविज्ञानं... quoted above.
 - (ii) यथार्थमगृहीतग्राहि ज्ञानं प्रमाणम् Śāstradīpikā, p. 45.
 - (iii) औत्पत्तिकगिरा दोषः कारणस्य निवार्यते,
 अबोधो व्यतिरेकेण स्वतस्तेन प्रमाणता ।
- सर्वस्यानुपलब्धेऽर्थे प्रामाण्यं स्मृतिरन्यथा Ślokavārtika, 10-11
- (iv) एतच्च विशेषणमुपादानेन सूत्रकारेण कारणदोषबाधकज्ञानरहितमगृहीत-
 ग्राहि ज्ञानं प्रमाणमिति प्रमाणलक्षणं सूचितम् । Śāstradīpikā p. 123.
- (v) अनधिगतार्थगन्तु प्रमाणमिति भाट्टमीमांसका आहुः ।

cally useful, should lead to the realisation of some end, be harmonious with experience and should favour successful volition. The Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsakas consider it necessary that the content of knowledge should be unknown, or previously unacquired and hence novel. Māṇikyanandin combined the opinions of Samantabhadra and Akalaṅka by including 'śva' and 'apūrvā' in his single definition. Use of the term 'vyavasāya'¹ (determination) by him bears further the influence of Nyāya where this term occurs in the definition of perception.²

If the object of cognition must be novel as admitted by Akalaṅka following the Mīmāṃsakas and the Buddhists³ how continuous cognition (Dhārāvāhika Jñāna) of an object can be regarded as *pramāṇa*. The Naiyāyikas have not to bother themselves on this question because cognition of even previously known object can be *pramāṇa* in their opinion.⁴ The Mīmāṃsakas also admit the validity of continuous cognition. According to the Prābhākaras the *pramāṇa* is experience⁵ and therefore there is no problem in admitting a case of continuous cognition under the *pramāṇa*. The followers of Kumāṛila who insist on the novelty (*anadhigatatva* or *apūrvatva*) of the object, however, say that subtle difference in time makes the object novel. Śālikanātha, the follower of Prabhākara school, has a better explana-

1. स्वापूर्वार्थव्यवसायात्मकं ज्ञानं प्रमाणम् Parikṣāmukha., I. 1.
2. इन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षोत्पन्नं ज्ञानमव्यपदेश्यमव्यभिचारि व्यवसायात्मकं प्रत्यक्षम् ।
Nyāyasūtra I. 1.4.
3. (i) अज्ञातार्थज्ञापकं प्रमाणमिति प्रमाणसामान्यलक्षणम् ।
Dīnāga, Pramāṇasamuccaya.
- (ii) अतएवानधिगतविषयमप्रमाणम् येनैव हि ज्ञानेन प्रथममधिगतोऽर्थस्तैर्नैव प्रवर्तितः पुरुषः प्राप्तित्त्वार्थः तद्वैवार्थं किमन्येन ज्ञानेनाधिकं कार्यम्, ततोऽधिगतविषयमप्रमाणम् ।

Dharmottara concludes this in his explanation of the term 'avisamvādaka' in his Tikā on the Nyāyabindu, p. 3. while the term *Anadhigata* excludes both *Vikalpa* and *Smṛti* in *Buddhiḥ*; in Mīmāṃsā it excludes only the cases of recollection and not '*Vikalpa*.'

4. अनधिगतार्थगन्तृत्वं च धारावाहिकविज्ञानानामधिगतार्थगोचराणां लोकसिद्धप्रमाणभावानां प्रामाण्यं विहन्तीति नाद्रियामहे ।

Nyāyavārtikatātparyāṭikā; p. 20 See also Kandali, p. 61. Nyāyamāñjarī, p. 22 and Nyāyakusumāñjali, 4.1.

5. (i) अनुभूतिश्च नः प्रमाणम् । Prabhākara, Bṛhatī, I.1. 5.
- (ii) प्रमाणमनुभूतिः सा स्मृतेरन्या Prakarapañcikā, p. 42.
6. तस्मादस्ति कालभेदस्य परामर्शः तदाधिक्याच्च सिद्धमुत्तरेषां प्रामाण्यम् ।
Śāstradīpikā, p. 124 & 126.

tion to offer. He says each individual cognition in the series of continuous cognitions is independent of the other. None of them can be distinguished either in its awareness or creation. Hence each one of these cognitions is valid.¹

Digambara logicians admit continuous cognition to be valid only if it cognises the moments also, otherwise it is held to be invalid. This view corresponds with the one held by the Buddhist Arcata² who conceded Yogic continuous cognition to be valid as it can cognise the difference wrought by time and regarded ordinary man's continuous cognition as invalid. In the Jaina system 'memory' is also included under valid knowledge, hence the element of novelty in the definition of *pramāṇa*, accepted by Akalaṅka and Māṇikyanandin, stands in a different sense of 'novel in some aspect' and not that of totally novel.³

5. Vidyānanda discards the element of novelty in his definition of *pramāṇa*⁴ which follows largely the views of Samantabhadra and Siddhasena, accepting the term '*vyavasāya*' introduced by Māṇikyanandin. Abhayadeva, the commentator on the *Sanmati*, follows Vidyānanda with the only difference that he substitutes '*Vyavasāya*' by a synonym *Nirṇīti*.⁵ Vādi Devasūri, however, accepts Vidyānanda's definition as it is.⁶ All the Śvetāmbara logicians accept continuous

1. अन्योन्यनिरपेक्षा धारावाहिकबुद्ध्यः व्याप्रियमाणे हि पूर्वोक्तज्ञानकारणकलाप उत्तरेषामप्युत्पत्तिरिति न प्रतीतित उत्पत्तितो वा धारावाहिकविज्ञानानि परस्परस्यातिशेरेत इति युक्ता सर्वेषामपि प्रमाणता ।

Prakaranapañcikā p. 42. See Bṛhati also p. 103.

2. Vide his *Tīkā* on the Hetubindu, p. 39.

3. (i) गृहीतमगृहीतं वा स्वार्थं यदि व्यवस्यति,
तन्न लोके न शास्त्रेषु विजहाति प्रमाणताम् ।

Tattvārthaśloka, I. 10.78

- (ii) प्रमान्तरागृहीतार्थप्रकाशित्वं प्रपञ्चतः
प्रामाण्यं च गृहीतार्थग्राहित्वेऽपि कथंचन ।

ibid.

4. तत्स्वार्थव्यवसायात्मज्ञानं मानमितीयता,
लक्षणेन गतार्थत्वात् व्यर्थमन्यद्विशेषणम् ।

Tattvārthaśloka, I, 10. 77.

See also *Pramāṇaparīkṣā*, p. 53.

5. प्रमाणं स्वार्थनिर्णीतिस्वभावं ज्ञानम् । *Sanmatīṭīkā*, p. 518.

6. स्वपरव्यवसायि ज्ञानं प्रमाणम् । *Pramāṇanirṇaya*.

cognition and recollection as *pramāṇa*. They see, therefore, no need to keep *anadhigata* or '*apūrva*' in their definitions of knowledge.

6. Hemacandra defines *Pramāṇa* as authentic definitive cognition of an object.¹ His definition follows Umāsvāti,² Dharmakīrti,³ and Bhāsarvajña⁴ in using the term '*Samyag*', and Abhayadeva in using the term *nirṇaya*, which stands for cognition devoid of the characteristic of doubt, indecision and indeterminate cognition, and negates the status of *pramāṇa* to the sense-object contact (admitted by the Nyāya) and to doubt etc. though they are included under the category of cognition by the Jains.⁵ The prefix '*pra*' in the term *pramāṇa* signifies the same.⁶ Hemacandra's definition is important for excluding the term for self-illuminating character of knowledge in the definition of *pramāṇa*. It is true that knowledge is self-manifesting as is revealed in introspection which illuminates cognition alongwith its soubject and object. Cognition can't be held to be revealed either by second cognition or by presumption or be made dependent on the cognition of the object, because that will involve either an infinite regress or a logical see-saw. Therefore the cognition must be accepted to be self-illuminating, says Hemacandra.⁷ However, he objects to the inclusion of this well-established self-illuminating character of the cognition in the definition of *Pramāṇa* because this overlaps cases of erroneous cognition,⁸ such as doubt which are equally self-revealing as there is not a single case of cognition which is not *ipso facto* self-manifesting. The old masters included this character of cognition for clear understanding of the learners.⁹

1. सम्यगर्थनिर्णयः प्रमाणम् । Pramāṇamīmāṃsā, 2.
2. सम्यग्दर्शनज्ञानचारित्राणि मोक्षमार्गः Tattvārthasūtra I. 1.
3. सम्यग्ज्ञानपूर्विका सर्वपुरुषार्थसिद्धिः । Nyāyabindu I. 1.
4. सम्यगनुभवसाधनं प्रमाणम् । Nyāyasāra. p. 1.
5. तत्र निर्णयः संशयानध्यवसायाविकल्पकत्वरहितं ज्ञानम् । ततो निर्णयपदेनाज्ञानरूपस्येन्द्रियसन्निकषादिः ज्ञानरूपस्यापि संशयादेः प्रमाणत्वनिषेधः । Pramāṇamīmāṃsā, p. 3.
6. प्रकर्षेण संशयादिव्यवच्छेदेन मीयते परिच्छिद्यते वस्तुतत्त्वं येन तत् प्रमाणम् । ibid. p. 2.
7. तस्मादर्थोन्मुखतयेव स्वोन्मुखतयापि ज्ञानस्य प्रतिभासता—स्वनिर्णयात्मकत्वमप्यस्ति—सवित् स्वप्रकाशा अर्थप्रतीतित्वात्, यः स्वप्रकाशो न भवति नासावर्थप्रतीतिः, यथा घटः । ibid. pp. 3-4
8. स्वनिर्णयः सन्नप्यलक्षणम्, अप्रमाणेऽपि भावात् । ibid. p. 4.
9. स्वनिर्णयस्तु अप्रमाणेऽपि संशयादौ वर्तते, न हि काचित् ज्ञानमात्रा सास्ति या न स्वसंविदिता नाम ततो न स्वनिर्णयो लक्षणमुक्तमस्माभिः, वृद्धैस्तु परीक्षार्थमुपक्षिप्तः । ibid. p. 4.

Hemacandra's definition is also significant on account of exclusion of the term *apūrva* (novel) or *anadhigata* (unknown) admitted by the Buddhist, the Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsaka and the Digambara school of Jaina logicians. According to him cognition of an object cognised before, as in the case of continuous cognition, determinate perception and its judgement, as also the recollection, may legitimately be considered valid cognition. The term *anadhigata* will serve no purpose either with reference to the substance which does not vary being self-same unity and eternal in either state qua cognised before or to be cognised hereafter.

Nor has this term any significance with reference to modes which are temporary. Because then even the case of continuous cognition cannot be regarded as cognising the precognised object.² The qualifying proviso of *anadhigata* is, therefore, unnecessary with reference to both the eternal selfsame substance and the changing modes.

In recollection which is admitted to be *pramāṇa*, there is cognition of the precognised. Even those, who regard recollection to be invalid, do so on the basis that it is not directly derived from an object and not on the basis that it cognises the pre-cognised object.³

An exposition of the six varieties of definitions given here gives the Jaina view of *pramā* (knowledge), *pramāṇa* (means of knowledge) and Jñāna (cognition). Salient features of this view may be summed up as follows:—

1. Cognition illumines itself and the object. This is a synthesis of idealistic view of the Buddhist, the Prābhākara and the Vedāntist (also the Kashmir Śaivaita), which regards knowledge to be self-evident and of the realistic view of the Sautrāntika, Nyāyavaiśeṣika, Sāṃkhya Yogin, and the Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsaka, which regards that the knowledge illuminates the object alone.
2. According to Jaina, authentic cognition alone is the instrument of knowledge. Sense, sense-object-contact (Nyāya-

2. ग्रहीष्यमाणग्राहिण इव गृहीतग्राहिणोऽपि नाप्रामाण्यम् ।

Pramāṇamīmāṃsā 4. See also the *vytti*.

3. See Pramāṇamīmāṃsā, p. 5., which quotes the following at the end of the discussion on this point.

न स्मृतेरप्रमाणत्वं गृहीतग्राहिताकृतम् ,

अपि त्वनर्थजन्यत्वं तदप्रामाण्यकारणम् ।

Nyāyamañjarī, p. 23.

- Vaiśeṣika), modification of intellect (Sāṃkhya), or identity (Sārūpya, idealistic Buddhist) can't be the source of knowledge.
3. Source and end of knowledge are different. While authentic cognition is the source of knowledge, it is the cessation of ignorance by removing the Kārmic Veil enveloping the individual soul which is the ultimate end. In empirical state, however, forming the attitude of rejection, acceptance or indifference; as the case may be, is the result of *pramāṇa*
 4. *Pramāṇa* is comprehensive as it reveals the object fully.¹ Even when one perceives the colour of an object he knows the full object and is thus aware, for example, that this is the jar, whereas *Naya* reveals only a particular aspect of an object. 'This jar is possessed of colour'. This example illustrates that *Naya* focusses its attention only on the colour, but when through cognisance of different aspects the object jar is known fully it becomes the case of *Pramāṇa*.
 5. The Jaina view of *Pramāṇa* accepts all shades of definitions without compromising its independence. In its philosophical dialogue with the non-Jaina thinkers it maintained its idealistic realism by defining *pramāṇa* as knowledge illuminating itself and the object but did not hesitate to benefit from the wisdom of others. This explains the impact of the Buddhistic, the Nyāyavaiśeṣika and the Mīmāṃsaka definitions both in form and idea over the Jainas whose contribution to epistemological problems is massive and significant for properly constructing the history of Indian wisdom in all its details.



प्रारम्भिक राजस्थानी जैन शिल्प की महत्त्वपूर्ण कलाकृतियाँ

रत्नचन्द्र अग्रवाल

प्राचीन भारतीय मूर्ति-विज्ञान एवं शिल्प के क्षेत्र में राजस्थानी कलाकारों की विविधानेक कृतियाँ महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान रखती हैं। पिछले बीस वर्षों में प्राचीन स्थलों की खुदाइयों द्वारा सिन्धु सभ्यता की महत्त्वपूर्ण सामग्री प्रकाश में आयी है जिसमें कालीबंगा से प्राप्त पुरुषशीर्ष बहुत आकर्षक है। इसके बाद की भी सामग्री महत्त्वपूर्ण है यद्यपि मूर्ति विज्ञान की दृष्टि से यह तो उल्लेखनीय है कि मौर्य काल से पूर्व की राजस्थानी कला-कृतियाँ अत्यल्प मात्रा में उपलब्ध हैं। ईसा पूर्व की एवं प्रारम्भिक ऐतिहासिक युग की प्रतिमायें राजस्थान के कई स्थानों पर मिली हैं परन्तु उनमें जैन कृतियों का सर्वथा अभाव बहुत खटकता है। सम्भव है भावी शोध खोज द्वारा इस सम्बन्ध में हमें सविशेष जानकारी प्राप्त हो सके।

इसी प्रकार गुप्तयुगीन राजस्थानी जैन प्रस्तर कला के विषय में विचार किया जा सकता है, यद्यपि उस समय पश्चिम भारत की कला में तक्षणकार पर्याप्त सक्रियता का परिचय प्रस्तुत कर रहे थे। उदयपुर नगर के पास 'जगत' नामक ग्राम के अम्बिका मन्दिर के आस-पास ईसा की पाँचवीं-छठी शती में मातृका पूजन का विशेष प्रचार था। इसकी पुष्टि कतिपय प्रस्तर प्रतिमाओं द्वारा हो सकती है। कुछ वर्ष बीते मुझे यहाँ पर एक शिर विहीन 'अम्बिका' देवी की पारेवा पत्थर (Greenish blue schist) की मूर्ति मिली थी, जिसमें देवी के दाहिने हाथ में परम्परानुसार 'आम्रलुम्बि' विद्यमान है, व बायें हाथ द्वारा अम्बिका ने बच्चा गोदी में पकड़ रखा है।^१ प्रस्तुत अम्बिका मूर्ति अपने वर्ग की तत्कालीन प्रस्तर कला कृतियों की श्रेणी में महत्त्वपूर्ण होकर पारेवा पत्थर की बनी है। इस प्रकार की अन्य तत्कालीन प्रस्तर मूर्ति शामलाजी-रोडा आदि स्थानों पर भी नहीं मिली है यद्यपि धातुकला में तो अभिव्यक्ति अन्यत्र उपलब्ध है। शैव-वैष्णव देवी प्रतिमा समूह में 'अम्बिका' का यह अंकन विशेष महत्त्वपूर्ण है। नागफणा तीर्थ के जैन मन्दिर में आसनस्थ द्विबाहु नाग मूर्ति भी तत्कालीन है, यद्यपि डॉ० शाह^२ उसे बौद्ध मानते हैं।

(१) रत्नचन्द्र अग्रवाल का लेख, ललितकला नं० ६, बम्बई, चित्र फलक १८, चित्र-संख्या ५। यह जगत के दसवीं शती के मन्दिर के सभा मण्डप में दीवार में जड़ी है। द्रष्टव्य रत्नचन्द्र अग्रवाल, स्कल्पचर्ज फ्रॉम उदयपुर म्यूजियम, १९६०, जयपुर; फलक २।

(२) ललित कला, नं० १३, फलक २६, चित्र १, पृ० ५१।

राजस्थान में सिरौही जिले के बसन्तगढ़—‘पिण्डवाड़ा क्षेत्र की प्रारम्भिक जैन धातु मूर्तियाँ तो भारतीय शिल्प की उत्कृष्ट कृतियाँ समझी गयी हैं। जिसका विशद विवेचन डा० उमाकान्त शाह द्वारा ललित कला नं० १-२ (१९५५-५६, पृष्ठ ५५ से ६५ व फलक) व ‘बंकोटा’ ब्रांजेज बम्बई, १९५६ में किया जा चुका है। कला कौशल की दृष्टि से यह ‘अंकोटा’ (बड़ौदा) की सामग्री की तुलना में कम महत्वपूर्ण नहीं है। इनमें स्थानक ‘सरस्वती’ देवी प्रतिमा लगभग १२.३ इंच है और दाहिने हाथ में पद्म व बायें हाथ में पुस्तक ग्रन्थ लिये हुए है।^१ इसकी अपेक्षा ‘अंकोटा’ से प्राप्त एक सरस्वती धातु मूर्ति अधिक खण्डित है और कम आकर्षक है।^२ अंकोटा^३ की अन्य सरस्वती धातु प्रतिमा तो बसन्तगढ़ पिण्डवाड़ा की उपर्युक्त कृति के समकक्ष प्रतीत होकर यह सिद्ध करती है कि सम्भवतः ये दोनों एक ही वर्ग के कलाकारों द्वारा ढाली गयी होंगी।

पिण्डवाड़ा बसन्तगढ़ के महावीर स्वामी मन्दिर में संरक्षित व धातु की बनी हुई स्थानक जिन प्रतिमा पर संवत् ७४४ (—६८७ ईसवी) का लेख उत्कीर्ण है, जिसमें उसके निर्माण कर्ता का नाम शिवनाग अंकित है।^४ अभी हाल में इस वर्ग की कुछ जैन धातु मूर्तियाँ बम्बई के प्रिंस आफ वेल्ज म्यूजियम को भी प्राप्त हुई हैं।^५ जालोर जिले के भीनमाल (प्राचीन श्रीमाल) व माघकवि के जन्म स्थल से भी कुछ जैन धातु प्रतिमायें प्रकाश में आयी हैं, जो राजस्थान की पूर्व मध्ययुगीन कला की आकर्षक कृतियाँ हैं। इनमें एक मूर्ति तो स्थान आदिनाथ भगवान की है, जिनके कंधों पर बाल गिर रहे हैं; नीचे धोती द्वारा शरीर ढका है व आजानुबाहु जिन खड़े हुए हैं। प्रतिमा की ऊँचाई २५ इंच है।^६ भीनमाल से ही प्राप्त एक अन्य धातु मूर्ति बड़ौदा के राजकीय संग्रहालय की शोभा बढ़ा रही है और उपर्युक्त जिन प्रतिमा से पर्याप्त पहले की है।^७ उदयपुर-आहाड़ के टीले से प्राप्त एक विशालकाय धातु मूर्ति में ध्यानस्थ जिन को बद्धांजलि भुदा में प्रदर्शित किया गया है।^८ यह स्थल संग्रहालय आहाड़ (Site Museum, Ahar) की शोभा बढ़ा रही है।

- (१) अंकोटा ब्रांजेज, उपर्युक्त, चित्र संख्या ३३।
- (२) वही, चित्र संख्या ३७।
- (३) वही, चित्र संख्या १८ : ऊँचाई १० १/२ इंच। बीकानेर संग्रहालय में सुरक्षित ‘अमरसर’ की जैन धातु मूर्तियों में पूर्वमध्य एवं मध्ययुगीन जैन कला की भव्य कृतियाँ हैं।
- (४) वही, चित्र ७२; ऊँचाई ४० इंच।
- (५) मोतीचन्द्र व सदाशिव गोरक्षकर, बुलेटिन ऑफ प्रिंस आफ वेल्ज म्यूजियम, बम्बई, अंक ११, १९७१, पृष्ठ १३-२५ व चित्र फलक।
- (६) अंकोटा ब्रांजेज, उपर्युक्त, चित्र संख्या ३५ बी।
- (७) रत्नचन्द्र अग्रवाल, बुलेटिन आफ बड़ौदा म्यूजियम एण्ड पब्लिक गैलरी, बड़ौदा, वर्ष २०, १९६८, पृष्ठ ४६-५०, फलक ४१, संग्रहालय पंजीक संख्या AC5/97
- (८) रत्नचन्द्र अग्रवाल, स्कल्पचर्ज फ्रॉम उदयपुर म्यूजियम फलक ३१।

प्रतीहार युगीन राजस्थानी जैन स्थापत्य एवं शिल्प के क्षेत्र में जोधपुर के समीप ओसियाँ का 'महावीर स्वामी भवन' विशेष रूपेण उल्लेखनीय है। जोधपुर से ही लगभग १८ मील दूर धटियाला (रो हिसकूप) नामक स्थल पर प्रतीहार 'कक्कु' के समय का संवत् ६१८ का विशाल स्तम्भ गड़ा हुआ है व पास 'खोखी माता की साल' तो कक्कु द्वारा निर्मित देवी भवन का ज्वलन्त उदाहरण है। यहाँ गर्भगृह भाग तो गिर गया है, परन्तु मण्डप की ताक में जड़ी हुई शिला की बाँयों ओर प्राकृत भाषा का तत्कालीन शिला-लेख खुदा है व दाहिनी ओर अम्बिका की मूर्ति उसी शिला पर खुदी हुई है।¹ मारवाड़ के गोड़वाड़ व सिरोही जिले में जैन मन्दिरों के सर्वेक्षण द्वारा राजस्थान के प्राचीन शिल्प एवं स्थापत्य पर सविशेष प्रकाश पड़ा है। देलवाड़ा-आबू व राणकपुर के प्रख्यात जिनालयों के अतिरिक्त छाणेराव का मुछेला महावीर, वर्माण का महावीर मन्दिर, नाडोल-नाडलाई-पाली-सेवाड़ी, सादड़ी आदि के प्राचीन मध्यकालीन जिनालय इस दृष्टि से विशेष रूपेण उल्लेखनीय हैं व बहुत ही महत्त्वपूर्ण सामग्री संजोए हुए हैं। इस सन्दर्भ में श्री एम. ए. ढाकी का सविस्तर एवं सचित्र शोध लेख² द्रष्टव्य है।

चित्तौड़ जिले के 'बांसी' नामक स्थान से पारेवा पत्थर की बनी हुई एक कुबेर (जैन सर्वानुभूति) मूर्ति मिली थी, जो आज-कल उदयपुर के प्रताप संग्रहालय की शोभा बढ़ा रही है।³ आठवीं शती की इस प्रतिमा का महत्त्व तो मुकुट व उससे भी ऊपर उत्कीर्ण जिनाकृतियों द्वारा बढ़ जाता है। यह हमें एल्लोरा की जैन मूर्ति का स्मरण कराती है और कला सौष्ठव की दृष्टि से भारतीय शिल्प को अनुपम देन है। आसनस्थ एवं कुम्भोदर कुबेर के नीचे गज वाहन, दाहिने हाथ में बिजोरा फल व बाँये में नकुलक, गले में वर्तुलाकार मुद्राओं का हार व ऊपर हँसली धारण की है जो मेवाड़ के भील आज भी प्रयोग में लाते हैं। यहाँ मेवाड़ी तक्षणकार ने बड़ी कुशलता से अन्य अलंकरण व बारीकियों का प्रदर्शन किया है। राजस्थान में अभी तक इतनी आकर्षक जैन-कुबेर प्रतिमा अन्यत्र नहीं मिली है।

इसी प्रकार भरतपुर संग्रहालय के मध्यवर्ती पुरातत्त्व कक्ष में प्रदर्शित एवं गुप्तोत्तर युगीन 'सर्वतोभद्र मूर्ति'⁴ भी अनुपम है। समीपवर्ती मथुरा संग्रहालय में इस वर्ग की कतिपय मूर्तियाँ संगृहीत हैं परन्तु भरतपुर संग्रहालय की उक्त मूर्ति की तुलना में वे कम आकर्षक हैं। जैन विचार धारा के अनुसार इस प्रकार की मूर्तियों का निर्माण इस भाव से हुआ था कि चारों दिशाओं में जिनाकृतियों की अभिव्यक्ति होकर दर्शक एवं भक्तवृन्द

- (1) रत्नचन्द्र अग्रवाल, जर्नल ओरिएण्टल इन्स्टीट्यूट, बड़ोदा, वर्ष, अंक ३, १९६३, पृष्ठ २८५-८७, व चित्र २-३।
- (2) श्री महावीर जैन विद्यालय गोलडन जुबली वौल्यूम, भाग १, १९६८, बम्बई, पृष्ठ २६०-३४७ व चित्र।
- (3) रत्नचन्द्र अग्रवाल, स्कल्पचर्ज फ्रॉम उदयपुर म्यूजियम, उपर्युक्त फलक १०; जर्नल इंडियन म्यूजियम, बम्बई, वर्ष १२, १९५६, चित्र फलक ७।
- (4) रत्नचन्द्र अग्रवाल, आर्टीबिस एशी, एस्काना-स्विटजरलैण्ड, २२ (३), १९५६।

भगवान् के दर्शन प्रत्येक ओर से कर सके । इस दृष्टि से एक शिला के चारों ओर स्थानक या आसनस्थ जिन मूर्ति का तक्षण करना निहित था । मथुरा संग्रहालय की ऐसी मूर्तियों में चारों ओर जिनाकृतियाँ भिन्न-भिन्न हैं जबकि भरतपुर संग्रहालय की विवेच्य कलाकृति द्वारा आदिनाथ भगवान् को ही चारों ओर प्रदर्शित किया गया है । वे स्थानकावस्था में विद्यमान हैं, उनके सिर पर जटाजूट हैं व कन्धों पर बाल गिर रहे हैं । इस प्रकार यह राजस्थानी मूर्ति वास्तव में सर्वतोभद्र भाव की द्योतक होकर अनुपम सिद्ध होती है ।

जोधपुर नगर से लगभग ३६ मील दूरस्थ ओसियाँ ग्राम का सचिया माता मन्दिर भी जैन बन्धुओं के लिए इष्ट स्थल है, यद्यपि भक्त ओसवाल बन्धु वहाँ एक रात्रि भी नहीं ठहरते हैं क्योंकि उनको दर्शनोपरान्त वहाँ ठहरने पर यह भय बना रहता है कि देवी कहीं क्रुद्ध न हो जायें । इस देवी भवन के गर्भ गृह की बाहरी ताकों में चामुण्डा, महिषमर्दिनी व शीतला की प्रतिमायें प्रमुख ताकों में जड़ी हैं : गर्भगृह के पीछे संवत् १२३४ चैत्र सुदि १० गुरुवार का एक शिलालेख उत्कीर्ण है । यहाँ के एक अन्य लेख में संवत् १२३६ में सच्चिका देवी के पवित्र वेश्म का उल्लेख है । जैसलमेर से लगभग १० मील दूरस्थ 'लोद्रवा' के पार्श्वनाथ मन्दिर में रक्खी हुई है संवत् १३३७ (= १२८० ई०) की गणेश मूर्ति की चौकी के लेख द्वारा ईसा की १३ वीं शती में सच्चिका पूजन पर विशेष प्रकाश पड़ता है । यहाँ पर यह बताया गया है कि इस देवी मूर्ति की प्रतिष्ठा गणपति सहित अजमेर दुर्ग पर की गयी थी—“अजयमेरु दुर्गो गत्वा द्विपंचाशत् जिन विम्बानि सच्चिका देवी गणपति सहितानि कारितानि प्रतिष्ठानि” । अब यह निर्धारित करना आवश्यक है कि जैन बन्धुओं द्वारा पूज्य देवी सच्चिका का क्या स्वरूप था ? सचिया देवी मन्दिर की ताकों में विद्यमान हिंस देवी प्रतिमाओं का उल्लेख किया ही जा चुका है । इस सन्दर्भ में उपकेशगच्छपट्टावलि (पट्टावलि-समुच्चय, भाग १, वीरमगाम, १६३३, पृष्ठ १८७) द्वारा सविशेष जानकारी प्राप्त होती है । यहाँ यह स्पष्ट वर्णित है कि सच्चिका देवी का प्रथम रूप महिषमर्दिनी था तथा श्री रत्नप्रभसूरि जी के प्रभाव से वह हिंसा का त्याग कर जैन धर्म में स्वीकार की गयी थी । (रक्तांकित भूमि तले-आर्द्र चर्मवद्धवन्दनमाले निष्ठुरजनसेवित धर्मध्यानविद्यापके महावीभत्स-रौद्रे श्री सच्चिकादेवी गृहे गंतुं न बुध्यते) । भला अहिंसा के पुजारी जैनाचार्य इस प्रकार की रौद्ररूपा देवी को कैसे अंगीकार करते ? उक्त पट्टावलि में यह भी वर्णित है कि देवी आचार्य रत्नप्रभसूरि के समक्ष प्रकट हुई और उन्होंने निरामिष खाद्य पदार्थ भेंट कर उसे सच्चिका संज्ञा प्रदान की थी । तदनन्तर देवी ने रौद्ररूप त्याग कर जैन धर्म की दीक्षा ग्रहण की । इसकी पुष्टि जोधपुर संग्रहालय में सुरक्षित व संगमरमर की बनी महिषमर्दिनी मूर्ति द्वारा स्पष्ट होती है । संवत् १२३७ का लेख इसकी चौकी पर खुदा है, जिससे ज्ञात होता है कि देवी का नाम सच्चिका था और इसकी प्रतिष्ठा एक गणिनी द्वारा सम्पन्न हुई थी :

(1) संवत् 1237 फाल्गुन सुदि 2 मंगलवारे

(2) श्रीमद्विकेशगच्छीया सर्व्व देव महत्तरा आसी

- (3) त् लोक विख्याता सत्यशीलक्षमा...
- (4) विनेयिका गणिनी चरणमत्या...निर्ममला
- (5) तेनेयं कारिता देवी सच्चिका...श्रेयसे
- (6) ...॥ प्रतिष्ठिता

इसकी स्मृति ओसिया के संवत् १६५५ के लेख में भी निम्नरूप में विद्यमान बनी रही:—“**चामुण्डा को सिचियाय करी रत्नप्रभसुरजी ने**”। इससे सच्चिका व ‘महिषमर्दिनी’ दुर्गा का एकरूप हो जाना सिद्ध होता है। कई जैन मन्दिरों में आज भी महिषमर्दिनी, गणेश, भैरव आदि की प्रतिमाओं का पूजन समन्वय की भावना का प्रतीक है जिसकी स्पष्ट झलक नाडोल के संवत् १२२८ के शिलालेख में उपलब्ध है:—“**ओं स्वस्ति श्रिये भवन्तु वे देवाः ब्रह्म-श्रीधर-शंकराः सदा विरागवन्तो ये जिन जगति लोके विश्रुताः**”। उपर्युक्त संक्षिप्त विवरण द्वारा राजस्थानी जैन कलाकृतियों के वैशिष्ट्य एवं भारतीय मूर्तिकला को देने की महत्वपूर्ण जानकारी होती है। आशा है भावी शोध खोज द्वारा इस दिशा में विशेष प्रकाश पड़ सकेगा। फिलहाल उपर्युक्त कुछ कृतियाँ जो भारतीय मूर्तिविज्ञान को अनुपम देन हैं जिसमें तनिक भी सन्देह नहीं है।



ANCIENT JAINA ART OF MADHYA PRADESH

Dr. K.D. Bajpai

Geographically the present region of Madhya Pradesh occupies the central position in the country. The recent excavations and explorations in some parts of the Chambal and Narmada valleys have thrown welcome light on the protohistoric Chalcolithic culture of Central India. The work conducted by the Sagar University in the districts of Raisen, Sehore and Sagar has brought to light a number of interesting painted rock-shelters, implements and other relics, which may be called the vestiges of the ancient 'Śabara-Niṣāda' cultures of the Vindhya region.

As regards Jainism, the early evidence of its spread in the Madhya Pradesh region is lacking. The Jaina tradition mentions the ancient city of Vidiśhā, where the image of Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra in the form of Jīvantaswāmī was worshipped. It is said that this image was brought by king Pradyota of Avanti from Roruka (in Sindhu-Sauvīra kingdom). *Ratha-yātrā* processions were held in honour of the image at Vidiśhā, as is known from the works like *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* and the *Vasudeva Hīṇḍī*.

Another city claiming association with Jainism was Ujjayinī. The *Kālakācārya Kathānaka* and other traditional accounts may be mentioned in this connection.

But in so far as the early art-relics are concerned, the Jaina pantheon did not make a mark in Central India as did Buddhism. The well-known centres of the Buddhist art, Bharhut and Sanchi, flourished during the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period. The rich and colourful art of these two sites occupies a significant place in our art-history.

Vidiśha became a centre of Yakṣa worship in the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period. Several *Yakṣa and Yakṣī images*, so far discovered at Vidiśha, are remarkable both from the aesthetic and iconographic points of view. The colossal Yakṣa and Yakṣī statues salvaged from the Betava river a few years back (now deposited in the Vidiśha Museum) are very remarkable. The Nāga cult also had its growth at Vidiśha, although its development here was subsequent to that of the Yakṣa Cult. The Nāga worship, both in the human and serpent form, was current in Vidiśha and the region around from the time of the Nāga rule to the early Medieval times.

The Śaka-Kuṣhāṇa period witnessed the emergence of Mathurā as a great art-centre *par-excellence* in Madhyadeśa. Jainism and Buddhism found a congenial atmosphere at Mathura for their growth through visual forms. The numerous art-objects from Mathura associated with these two religions eloquently prove this.

Vidiśha can be said to be the first important town in Central India which came in contact with Mathurā during the Kuṣhāṇa reign. In the succeeding period of the Nāga rule, Mathurā had closer relations with Kāntipurī (Kutwār in the Morena district), Padmāvati (Pawāyā near Gwalior) and Vidiśha. It is interesting to note that some of the art-relics discovered at Pawāyā and Vidiśha, assignable to the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D., bear a clear impact of the Mathurā style. The emotional vision (*rasa-dṛṣṭi*) of the artists of Mathurā endowed the visual forms of art with the dance and song of life. The sculpture was thus given the ennobling form of *lalitakalā*, as visualised by Aśvaghoṣa, Kālidāsa and others. The Mathurā sculptors were past masters in diffusion of the aesthetic beauty in the art objects.

It was at Mathurā that the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara images were given, for the first time, their distinctive iconographic symbology. The Śrīvatsa symbol appears clearly on the Jaina images of Mathurā. It may be mentioned here that the so-called earliest Tīrthaṅkara image from Lohānīpur (near Patna) does not bear this symbol on the chest. The poor anatomical composition of this sculpture may also be taken into account while assigning an early date to it.

The recent discovery of three inscribed Tīrthaṅkara images near Vidiśha has brought to light evidence of unusual historical significance. Two of the images, according to the inscriptions on their pedestals, are of Candraprabha and the third one is that of Puṣpadanta. The inscriptions clearly indicate that these statues were caused to be made by *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta. I have no doubt that this Rāmagupta is identical with the elder brother of Candragupta Vikramāditya. He can be identified with the ruler whose copper coins, in quite a large number, are now known from the Vidiśha region and who, like other rulers of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, bore the title of *mahārājādhirāja*.

A close study of these interesting Jaina statues, reveals that their composition bears close affinities with the Tīrthaṅkara and Buddhist images of Mathura, assignable to the transitional period or to the early Gupta Age. The seating posture in *dhyānamudrā*, the anatomical details of the body, the scalloped halo behind the head and the Śrīvatsa symbol on the chest can be compared with these on several known Tīrthaṅkara images in the Mathurā art. The two *deva* chauri-bearers, wearing *ardhoruka*, *uttariya* and ornaments including the typical

mukuta, are also noteworthy. The pedestal shows in the centre the *cakra* symbol flanked on each side by a lion with the tail raised. One type of the coins of Rāmagupta bears the figure of a lion with the tail raised similar to this.

These Tīrthaṅkara images are carved in the round, indicating the back view of the Tīrthaṅkara and those of the draped figures of the two attendants. This feature is imitated from the well-known Mathurā device. The stone of these three images is the local sandstone of Vidiśha. The palaeography of the Brāhmī script on the pedestals is similar to that occurring in the Udayagiri and Sanchi inscriptions of Candragupta Vikramāditya.

During the Gupta Age the art of carving and installation of Tīrthaṅkara images continued, although the extant examples from Madhya Pradesh are only a few. The image of Pārśvanātha carved during the reign of Kumāragupta I in cave no. 20 of Udaigiri near Vidiśha can be mentioned in this connection. It has the usual characteristics of the Gupta Tīrthaṅkara images known from Mathura, Kaushāmbī and other sites in the north India. A Tīrthaṅkara image from Sīrā hills (near Salehā in the Panna dist.) datable to about 500 A.D. is another important sculpture. Mention may here be made of Deogarh (now in the Jhansi dist.). During the Gupta age, Deogarh became an important centre of art. The Daśavatāra temple of Viṣṇu, with its artistic statuary, is well-known. Near the Daśavatāra temple on the hillock a Jaina establishment was set up during the post-Gupta age. Several Jaina temples, with quite a large number of icons, were built up here upto the 12th century A.D. This Jaina centre at Deogarh did considerable work of diffusing its religious tenets in the region around. The temples and art-relics at Chanderī, Dudhāī, Chāndpur and other sites, indicate this. The Jaina Bhaṭṭāraka cult had its predominance at Deogarh for quite a long time.

The rise of the classical Gupta art of Central India can be associated with the reign of Candragupta Vikramāditya. Under his patronage, monuments and sculptures of abiding beauty were carved at Udaigiri, Sanchi, Eran, Pawāyā and Tigwā. These were followed by similar art-relics at Bhumrā, Nachnā, Tumain, Unchehrā, Mandasaur, etc. The classical traits are discernible in the few Jaina images of the Gupta age and also of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra period in the region of Madhya Pradesh. These relics can be seen in the Gwalior, Dhubela and Indore Museums and also at Vidiśha Baḍoh and Paṭhārī.

The Medieval Jaina art has the usual characteristics of profuse ornamentation and iconometry. The iconographic details of the Jaina pantheon had been worked out by now, and the artists were

compelled to pay more attention to the prescribed iconic norms than to the aesthetic sense of composition. The richness of the contemporary Jaina community and the patronage received from the rulers contributed to the mass development of art in various parts of Madhya Pradesh. The numerous temples and sculptures from Khajuraho, Ajaigarh, Mohendrā, Chanderī, Ahār, Terhī, Damoh, Ujjain, Gandhrawal, Gyāraspur, Bhānpurā, Gwalior and several other sites, furnish a rich material for the study of iconographic details.

The Chandellas were great patrons of art. Not only at Khajuraho but also at their other centres, viz. Ajaigarh, Mahoba and Kalinjar, Jaina temples and sculptures in large numbers were carved. As regards Khajuraho, it may be mentioned that the Śaiva, Śākta and Vaiṣṇava cults were more prominent there for quite a long time. It was at a later stage that the Jaina *ācāryas* settled at the eastern group of temples at Khajuraho and established their centre there.

The Medieval Jaina art of Madhya Pradesh has almost the same merits and demerits which we notice in the contemporary art of the region, associated with other religious pantheons.



JAINA METAL IMAGES

S.M. PAHADIYA

The Jaina metal images form an important branch of Indian sculptural art. They are very important from the religious and artistic point of view. They are of many varieties. The inscriptions, wherever found, help us in dating the images, and tracing the stages which metal art underwent in different periods. Sometimes, they furnish us with important information about the donors. The small size of many of them may lead us to think that they were meant for being carried in processions on some auspicious days so that the people, who could not or did not visit temples, might have an opportunity of beholding the sacred images, and of, thus, attaining religious merit. Indirectly, this process also helped in attracting the mob towards Jainism. It is also worth-noting that the images of R̥ṣabhanātha and Pārśvanātha form the major part of the totality.

Early Images

From Samayasundara, it is learnt that the Maurya king Samprati installed golden images of Padmaprabha and Pārśvanātha in the Jaina temple of Ghanaghāṇī.¹ But, the time of Samayasundara is the seventeenth century, and hence our hesitation in accepting his view. Besides, some scholars are of the opinion that one bronze image of Pārśvanātha, standing in the Kāyotasarga pose (now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay) belongs to about 100 B.C. or so.² But, its exact date is still disputable, and therefore, it is better to dispense with it here. A few Jaina metal images,³ found from Chausā, (Bihar), and, now, preserved in the Patna Museum, are said to be of the Kuṣhāṇa period, but their case is also controvertible.

Image sof the Gupta Period (c. 4th Century A.D. c. 7th Century A.D.):

The earliest known Jaina metal image* of the Gupta period is found from Akoṭā (Gujarat). It is a standing image of R̥ṣhabhanātha; its head offers an excellent study of a Yogi in the *dhyāna-mudrā* (meditative posture) with eyes half-closed. It seems to have been inspired

1. K.C. Jain: Jainism in Rajasthan, Sholapur, 1963, p. 130.
2. U.P. Shah: Studies in Jaina Art, Banaras, 1955, pp. 8-9; H.L. Jain: *Bhāratīya Samskr̥iti Meyṃ Jaina Dharma Kā Yogadāna*, Bhopal, 1962, p. 351.
3. U.P. Shah: Studies in Jaina Art, Banaras, 1955, p. 13.
4. Ibid., p. 16.

by the Sultanganj Buddha. The same site has yielded some more images. Amongst them the images¹ of Jīvantasvāmī and Sarasvatī (both in the Baroda Museum) are important from iconographical point of view. Yakṣha and Ambikā² appearing on a bronze of Rṣbhanātha are specially noteworthy.

Five bronzes (now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay) have been found from Valabhi.³ They are all standing and beautiful to look at. One of them has a halo. The standing image of Rṣbhanātha from Vasantagarh (Rajasthan) is, perhaps, the first dated specimen (*samvat* 744, A.D. 687).⁴ A few more bronzes⁵ are reported to have been found from the same site. Mahudī (Gujarat) has yielded one large and two small images.⁶ Stylistically, they seem to have derived their inspiration from the Nalanda Buddhist bronzes. Two metal sculptures⁷ in the Simandhara temple, Ahmedabad, and three standing bronze figures⁸ in Bhinmal (Rajasthan) also deserve mention.

One bronze of standing Bāhubali⁹, is in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It shows the acme of Jaina art in metal. All the details about it are quite precise. It may well be compared with the images of Bādāmī and Aihole caves. All the Jaina metal images of this period are in 'classical idiom' culminating in the delicacy of execution, discipline of body, completeness of detachment, conquest of mind, serenity of face, elegance of inner feelings, and excellence of meditative expression.

IMAGES OF THE EARLY MEDIAEVAL AND THE MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

(c. 8th A.D.- c. 16th A.D.):

During the early mediaeval and the mediaeval period, a large number of Jaina images were cast in metal. West India, as a whole,

1. Ibid., pp. 4, 19; H.L. Jain: *Bhāratīya Samskrīti Meym Jaina Dharma Kā Yogadāna*, Bhopal, 1962, p. 351; See also, *The Heritage of Indian Art*, p. 29.
2. U.P. Shah: *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, p. 19.
3. Ibid., p. 16; *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 1, p. 36; See also, *The Heritage of Indian Art*; p. 29.
4. Ibid.; K.C. Jain: *Jainism in Rajasthan*, Sholapur, 1963, p. 130.
5. U.P. Shah: *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, p. 16; K.C. Jain: *Jainism in Rajasthan*, Sholapur, 1963, p. 130.
6. U.P. Shah: *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, p. 17.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. H.L. Jain: *Bhāratīya Samskrīti Meym Jaina Dharma Kā Yogadāna*, Bhopal, 1962, pp. 353, 354.

remained the chief centre of activities in metal-casting. Madhya Pradesh, east India and south India produced Jaina metal images during this period, perhaps, for the first time. Bhinmal yielded three images of this period.¹ In style and technique, they are allied to Vasantgarh bronzes. Some Jaina metal images have been obtained from Pur and Sigoli (both in Bhilwara District, Rajasthan).²

No fewer than 1050 images³ (now deposited in an underground vault of Cintāmaṇī temple, Bikaner) have been reported from Acalgarh. Almost all of them are consummate pieces of workmanship. In the Caumkhaji temple of the same place, there are eleven big images,⁴ each weighing about 51.87 or 53.28 quintal. These images are, perhaps, the weightiest of the metal images in the world. In spite of their massiveness and ponderosity, there is, say, nothing of 'artistic boredom',. Contrariwise, they automatically arrest the attention of the visitors, and let them ruminate over the glamour, intrinsic charm, and spiritual calmness they have about them. A number of Jaina bronzes are at Piṇḍawāḍā (near Sirohi), and they throw a flood light on the art of metal casting in Rajasthan at that time.⁵

In the temple of Caudharis at Jaipur, there is an image of *cauṇṣī*.⁶ It has its own uniqueness. Another Jaina temple of the same place has a metal image⁷ in the shape of plate in the centre of which is exhibited Nandiśvaradvīpa. From figure No. 67 on plate XXIV in U.P. Shah's 'Studies in Jaina Art', we come to know of a *sahasrakūṭa* sculpture in bronze at Pāṭan. A pair of seated inscribed images (now in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta) have, further, been found from Rajasthan⁸. Two images, which stylistically seem to have been made in Rajasthan, are at present in the National Museum,

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1. U.P. Shah: Studies in Jaina Art, Banaras, 1955, p. 17, fn. 4.
 2. Indian Archaeology: A Review, 1960-61, and 1967-68, New Delhi, 1961, and 1968, p. 65, and p. 74.
 3. K.C. Jain: Jainism in Rajasthan, Sholapur, 1963, pp. 130-131.
 4. Ibid. 131.
 5. Journal of Indian History, 1960, XXXVII, p. 499; See also, Lalitakalā Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 55-65.
 6. K.C. Jain: Jainism in Rajasthan, Sholapur, 1963, p. 131.
 7. This has been also referred to by U.P. Shah at p. 24 of his book. It is very beautiful, and is enough to give a glimpse of bronze-casting in this part of the country.
 8. Indian Archaeology: A Review, 1963-64, New Delhi, 1967, p. 95.

Delhi¹. One is of Mahāvīra; it is flanked by two attendants. The next one is of Anatanātha. It is in the fashion of Buddhist images in the *dharmacakra-pravartana-mudrā* (posture of turning the Wheel of Law). The importance of this image is still great in view of the fact that the Tirthaṅkara Anatanātha is rarely cast in metal or even cut in stone. Two bronzes are in Surat². One is of Samavasaraṇa, and another of Pañchmeru. Both of them show excellent workmanship. Akotā has also yielded metal images of this period³. A hoard of bronzes of Jaina Tirthaṅkaras and gods of Jaina pantheon have been obtained from Ghoga, District Bhavanagar (Gujarat)⁴. They are of the first water. Cāhārdī in Khandesh has revealed an excellent big bronze of *cauvīsī* (now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay)⁵. There is; however, controversy about it among the scholars. Some take it to be of Neminātha, and others of Rṣabhanātha. The possible probability is in favour of its being that of Rṣabhanātha.

Some more images, have, probably, been obtained from west India, and are, now, in the National Museum, Delhi⁶. Amongst them, mention may be made of the images of Pārśvanātha, Tri-Tirthaka of Pārśvanātha, Pañca-Tirthaka of Pārśvanātha, and Cakreśhvari. All these images possess a fascinating appeal, and are important not only for their iconographical study, but also for the various phases of Jaina art in metal that developed and flourished for centuries in that part of the country. It is to be noted that the Jaina metal images found all over west India are mostly related to the miniature painting of western school which flourished during this period.⁷

A few Jaina bronzes (now in the Nagpur Museum) have been brought to sight from Rajnākin Khinkhini in Murtijāpur District

1. B.N. Sharma: *Rāṣṭrīya Saṅgrahālaya Nāi Dillī Meyṁ Do Jaina Pratimāyemī*—an article in the *Mahāvīra Jayantī Smārikā*, Jaipur, 1973, Section 2, pp. 1-2.
2. U.P. Shah: *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, pp. 94, 118.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
4. Indian Archaeology: A Review- 1961-62, New Delhi, 1964, p. 97.
5. U.P. Shah: *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, p. 24; Chintamani Kar: *Indian Metal Sculpture*, London, 1952, p. 39.
6. B.N. Sharma: Unpublished Jaina Bronzes in the National Museum, New Delhi—an article in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XIX, Baroda, 1970, pp. 275-278.
7. See, Upendra Thakur: *Studies in Jainism and Buddhism in Mithila*, Varanasi, 1964, p. 103.

(Madhya Pradesh).¹ These images are of the finest excellence. Gwalior (Madhya Pradesh) is also known to have yielded a few images.² There may be many other places in Madhya Pradesh from where a number of Jaina metal images may be found. But, a complete survey has yet to be made in this direction. Jaina metal images are also known from Paharpur, east Bengal, and Sundarbans, west Bengal.³

A bronze⁴ of standing R̥ṣabhanātha (now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta), found from Kakatpur, District Puri, Orissa, is of immense value. Another metal specimen⁵, representing R̥ṣabhanātha and Mahāvīra on a single pedestal (now in the British Museum, London), also coming probably from Orissa, is a masterpiece of casting images in metal. Chandankiari (Manbhum, Bihar) has brought to light some Jaina metal images.⁶ Amongst them, the image of Pārśvanātha is specially mentionable. Chausā too is known to have yielded images of this period.⁷ Though, somewhat crude, they are, yet, remarkable for their facial expression.

An image of seated Pārśvanātha (now in the British Museum London)⁸ hails, probably, from Deccan. It is of bewitching beauty. A few Jaina bronzes (now in the State Museum Hyderabad) have been

1. U.P. Shah: *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, p. 25.
2. T.N. Ramachandran: *Indian Bronzes*—an article in the *Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XIX, Madras, 1949-50, p. 189.
3. *Ibid.*
4. U.P. Shah: *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, p. 26; *Journal of the University of Bombay*, 1940, p. 153; R.B. Ramaprasad Chanda: *Mediaeval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, London, 1936, p. 71 ff; R.D. Banerji: *History of Orissa Vol. 1*, Calcutta, 1930, p. 84 ff.
5. U.P. Shah: *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, p. 26.
6. Vindhyeshwari Prasad Sinha: *Bhāratīya Kalā Ko Bihār Kī Dena*, Patna, 1958, p. 136; P.C. Roy Choudhury: *Jainism in Bihar*, Patna, 1956, p. 46.
7. Vindhyeshwari Prasad Sinha: *Bhāratīya Kalā Ko Bihār Kī Dena*, Patna, 1958, p. 136.
8. Chintamani Kar: *Indian Metal Sculpture*, London, 1952 p. 39. In the British Museum, London, there are many other notable Jaina metal images obtained from south India. For details, see, B.N. Sharma: *Videshī Saṅgrahālayaṅ Meyṁ Jaina Pratimāyem*—an article in the *Mahāvīra Jayantī Smārīkā*, Jaipur, 1972, Section 2, pp. 125-126.

found in Bapatāla, District Guntur.¹ The Jaina metal images are also known from some places of Madras and Mysore.² One image of a Jaina goddess found from Mysore is in the Captain Jones Museum London.³ One Nokkayya setṭi, the Paṭṭanasvāmī (Lord Myor) of the king Vīra Śantaradeva is known to have installed many images of Jina gods, in gold, silver, and other fine metal in south India.⁴

A general survey of the Jaina metal images of this period will make it clear that the artists sometimes followed old style, sometimes new, and that sometimes he made his creation a fusion of the two—Old and New. However, the general trend of the artists seems to have been one of making their pieces of art a thing of beauty. Some images of the mediaeval period, however, show exhaustion of spirit that went into the making of early images. The Jaina metal idols, built during the subsequent periods, hardly have any aesthetic significance or novelty about them.

Technique:

The methods of casting images in metal are two. According to one method, the object to be cast is modelled in wax, and the wax model is next wrapped in thick coatings of soft clay applied in several layers. When sufficiently dry, few more coatings of clay mixed with husk are again applied over it. When dry again, the wax model is melted away by the application of heat, and molten metal amalgam is poured in the vacuum left in the mould. After the amalgam has set and cooled, the clay mould is removed. The figure is next chased and chiselled for the final finish. This process is evidently suitable for making solid images in metal.

In another method, befitting for making hollow images, the wax model is worked over and around an inner stump of husk and other combinations. The husk remains within the mould when the wax is melted out. The molten amalgam finds its way in the crevices between the inner stump and the sides of the mould, encasing the stump all around.



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1. Indian Archaeology: A Review, 1961-62, New Delhi, 1964, p. 108.
 2. T.N. Ramachandran: Indian Bronzes—an article in the *Journal of the Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XIX, Madras, 1949-50, p. 189.
 3. Chintamani Kar: *Indian Metal Sculpture*, London, 1952, p. 39.
 4. B.A. Saletore: *Mediaeval Jainism*, Bombay, 1933, p. 174.

JAINA SCHOOL OF MATHEMATICS

(A study in Chinese Influences and Transmissions)

L.C. Jain

ABSTRACT.

China and India are neighbours and the history of influences and transmissions of the knowledge of pure and applied mathematics are beyond the limits of time and space. From the records of China, it is evident that in several fields China had original mathematical techniques which might have influenced the contemporary civilizations of the world, and was less influenced between the third century B.C. and the thirteenth century A.D., save apart from the friendly and deep relations with India. Needless to say, the mathematical techniques had their origination and motivation in the new philosophies of revolutionary India of the neighbourhood of the fifth century B.C. when non-violence and work-rights were at their peak recognition. Most of the modern works on history of mathematics have not as yet recorded the facts and figures from earlier texts of India as they have remained unexposed to the western window due to several reasons. In this article a survey of certain topics of ancient mathematics in China and India will be given on the basis of Prakrit Texts recently brought to light by Late Dr. H.L. Jain and other scholars. From these sources, an exhaustive work seems to have been compiled with complete details of mathematical manipulation in the detailed commentaries of Gommatasāra, Labdhisāra and Kṣapaṇāsāra.)

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JAINA SCHOOL OF MATHEMATICS

A Study in Chinese Influences and Transmissions

1. "Introduction"

In the author's previous articles and works¹, a comparative historical survey on the Indian schools of Mathematics was given from the source material from Egypt, Greece and Babylon. Ancient Mathematics from China could not be surveyed for want of material. This article is based on the material available in the source book, Science and Civilization in China, vol. iii, a recent work by Needham and Ling.²

It may be emphasised that non-availability of earlier records should in no way go to underrate the evaluation of the strength of motivation and results of the origination of mathematical ideas, techniques and principles, meant for moving several generations of the world towards the truth as well as non-violence. Motivation gives a clue to the as yet unknown inner mechanism of the development of mathematical sciences in Europe from Galileo onwards, whereas the lack of motivation in India and China, though possessed of the richest material, relates the history of a deep slumber over violence. Studies into qualities as well as quantities and theory as well as experiment lead a motivation to a climax. The fifth century B.C. revolution in India as well as in other parts of the world, though in less degree, had evolved systems of Karma Theory through mathematical rigour of the set theory and biophysical automata, and that they were just mathematical model-sets meant for the understanding and attainment of the aims they

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1. (a) Jain, L.C., *Tiloya Paṇṇattī Kā Gaṇita*, Reprinted from introduction to *Jambū Dīva Paṇṇattī Saṃgāḥa*, Jiva Raj Granthmala Sholapur, 1958, pp. 1-109.
(b) Jain L.C., *On the Jaina School of Mathematics*, Chhote Lal Smṛti Grantha, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 265-292.
(c) Jain, L.C., *Gaṇita Sāra Saṃgraha of Mahāvīrācārya*, edited and translated with a history of the world mathematics, Jivaraj Granthmālā, Sholapur, 1963, pp. about 400.
 2. Needham, J., and Ling, W., *Science and Civilization in China, Vol. III, Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and the Earth*, Cambridge, 1959.

stood for, achieved up to a climax in actual life states. The close relations between the theory and experiment led to the evolution of the mathematical manoeuvre unparalleled in the world in the dual fields of the soul and matter.

In what follows, the magic touch of mathematics will be elaborated, what has been seen in the Prakrit texts¹ and the presence of the traces will be shown to exist in China.

1. For a general survey, confer the bibliography given in the Thesis of Mukut Behari Agrawala, *Ganita evam Jyotisha Ke Vikāsa men Jainācāryon kā Yogadāna*, approved at the Agra University for Ph.D., 1972, pp. 377.

The following books may be seen for main contributions in mathematics:

- (a) Bhūtabali Ācārya, *Māhabandho*, a series of volumes (1 to 7) appearing from Bharatiya Jñāna Pīṭha, Kashi. The work of editing was initiated by Pt. S.C. Diwakar and followed by Pt. Phool Chandra Siddhanta Shastri onwards till completion, (1947-1958).
- (b) Pushpa Danta and Bhūtabali Ācārya, *ṣaṭhaṇḍāgama* texts with commentary of Vīrasenācārya, Amaraoti Vidisha and. Vol. III (1941). Vol. IV (1942), and so on. The work was initiated (1939) as well as completed (1959) by Late Dr. H.L. Jain who was mainly responsible in taking out the treasure of the unexposed texts on Tāda Patras in Kannada script from Moodabidri in the south India.
- (c) Guṇabhadraācārya, *Kasāya Pāhuḍa Sutta*, Calcutta, 1955, edited by Pt. H.L. Jain.
- (d) Nemicandraācārya, *Gommaṭasāra*, *Labdhisāra*, *Kṣapaṇāsāra*, the essential texts from the *ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* and other text, including *Ṭoḍaramala's Artha Saṃdṛṣṭi* and all the three commentaries (*Jīva Tattva Pradīpikā*, *Manda Bodha Prabodhini*, and the *Samyakjñāna Candrikā*), Gandhi Hari Bhai Deva Karana Jain Granthamala, Calcutta, (Date of year not mentioned, perhaps round about 1910).
- (e) Yati Vṛṣabhācārya: *Tiloya Paṇṇattī*, I Bhāga I (1943) (ii) Bhāga II (1951), edited by A.N. Upadhyay and H.L. Jain, Jiva Raj Granthmala, Sholapur.

The texts of the Śvetāmbara school may also be quoted: *Jambū-dīva Paṇṇattī*, Shri Mahāvira Jaina Vidyalaya, Bombay, 1969. *Canda Paṇṇattī*, Muni Shri Amolaka Risi, Lala Sukhdeva Sahaya Jvala

2. Influences and Transmissions between India and China

There may be several topics¹ on which research may be pursued for comparative studies of ancient India and China. As has been observed in the *Śaṭkhaṇḍāgama* Texts, the counting process in India had been based on the rods system which was perfected to the extent of finding of logarithms to the finite, innumerable and infinite bases.² It was used in the set theoretic approach for mathematical theory of Karma bonds as well as in the depiction of the measure of the sets of various types of souls classified on the basis of the control and wayward stations.³ The counting rod of India was called *Salāgā*⁴ and the logarithm to the base two was called *Ardhaccheda Salāgā* (*Śalākā* in Sanskrit). This calculation had its tradition in the early centuries before Christ, when the Jain School of Mathematics was originated

Prasad, Haiderabad, 1918. *Sūra Paṇṇatti*, Āgamodaya Samiti, Mehasana, 1918. *Karmagrantha Khaṇḍa II*, Muni Shri Caturvijaya, Jaina Atmananda Sabha, Bhavanagara 1934-40.

1. The main topics in mathematics may be arithmetic, geometry, mensuration and algebra. Apart from the place value, certain words like Chih, Lieh, Ling, Shih, Chhien, Chhieh Chhou, Thiu Suan, and so on, attract attention for a deeper probe. The discoidal ancient maps of China resemble those of the Babylonian and the Akkadian, and they have also been found in the Jain Canons. Cf. 2.
2. (a) Singh, A.N., *Mathematics of Dhavalā*, I, *Śaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, vol IV, op. cit., 1942, pp. v-xxi.
 (b) Singh, A.N., *History of Mathematics in India from Jain Sources: The Jaina Antiquary*, vol. xv, no. ii (1949); and vol. xvi, pp. 46-53, no. ii, (1950), pp. 54-69. Cf. also 1(a) and 1(b).
3. गुण जीवा पञ्जस्ती पाणा सण्णा य मग्गणाओ य ।
 उव ओगो वि य कम सो वीसं तु पख्खणा भण्णिदा ॥२॥ Cf. 3 (d), v. 2.
4. 'Salāgā' means a rod or a piece of log meant for reckoning. *Salāgās* are of various kinds: *Ardhaccheda*, *Varga*, *Viralana*, *Deya*, *Vargita-Samvargita*, and so on. Extensive use of this word is found in the *Dhavalā* Texts. Cf. 3(b).

ते अवर मज्झ जेट्ठं तिविहा संखेज्ज ज्ञाणणमिप्तं

अणवत्थ सलागा पडि महासला चारि कुंडाणि ॥१४॥

Cf. *Trilokasāra*, V. 14, *Nemicandrācāra*, *Manikachandra Grantha-mala*, Bombay, 1918. Consequent verses 32, 33, 34, 38, 39, 41, 67, 69, 71, 72, 76, 83, 84, 108, may also be seen.

and motivated for the cause of non-violence and a philosophy of Karma based on the six types of eternal Fluents¹ and the Tautos named as Tattvas² including inputs, state existence, outputs and others. The philosophy of Karma is as old as the period of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra,³ as far as its mathematical theory is concerned. In China the nine figures and place value were in use in the fourth century before Christ, whereas the records in India show its use in the sixth century A.D.⁴

In China square roots and cube roots are found to be in developed stage in the first century before Christ.⁵ The statements in Śaṭkhaṇḍāgama of the second century A.D., clearly expound the set theoretic numbers which are integral and the twelfth root of another set.⁶ Although the perfect development of such operations appear in India in

1. The six eternal Fluents (Dravyas) are the Soul (Jīva), Matter (Pudgala), Space (Ākāśa), Time, (Kāla,) Eather (Dharma), Anti-Eather (Adharma). The last four are pure cooperational Fluents. with own-becomings.

जीवा पुग्गल काला धम्माधम्मा य लोग दोणणा ।

तत्तो अणण्ण मण्णं आयासं अंतवदिरित्तं ॥६१॥

Cf. Kundakunda Bharati, p. 21, Phaltan, 1970.

2. The Tautos (Tattvas) are seven: Soul (Jīva), Non-Soul (Ajīva), Input (Āsrava), Bond (Bandha), Closure (Saṃvara), Output (Nirjarā), Realization (Mokṣa). The mathematical material present in the Gommatasāra etc. could well work for evolving a set of models of biophysical automata.

जीवाजीवास्त्रवबन्धसंवरनिर्जरा मोक्षास्तत्त्वम् ॥४॥

Cf. 38, Ch. 1, V. 4.

3. The 2500th anniversary of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra is being celebrated in 1974. Some authors, however, maintain his period to be round about 663 B.C. Cf. 1(b)
4. For details, cf. (2), p. 5 et seq.
5. Cf. (2), pp. 65-68.
6. Cf. 3(b), V. 1, 2, 17.

खेत्तेण असंखेज्जाओ सेढीओ जग पदरस्स असंखेज्जदि भागमेत्ताओ । तासिं सेढीणं विक्खंभसूची अंगुल वग्गमूलं विदिय वग्गमूलं गुणिदेण ॥१७॥

Various other verses may also be seen.

the seventh century (Brahmagupta), on the basis of motivation¹ it may be asserted that Indians also were aware of the results of the operational relations of square-roots and cube-roots.

It has been asserted that the rule of three is found in Han Chiu Chang, earlier than in any Sanskrit text.² In India the context is that of calculations in relation to three sets (Rāśis) wherein the set theory is vital and fundamental in the Prakrit texts throwing light on the darkest period of the Indian History of Mathematics.³ There is close resemblance in the meanings of the words Shih and Fa of China with those in India (Pramāṇa, Icchā and Phala).⁴ The exact date of use is not so important as the traditional use of the method in original texts wherein an abundant use of the rule of three has been made for explaining the age old results of centuries past.

In all medieval Indian universal as well as post-universal Mathematics fractions have been shown in the style of vertical columns as had been the practice in China, used on Han counting-boards.⁵ The Dhavalā commentaries of the ninth century A.D. give independent manipulations of various types of fractions (rather quotient-sets), investigated by Dr. A.N. Singh.⁶ The concepts of fractions have been developed in the Jaina School of Mathematics on the general basis of set (Rāśi) concept, save apart the product of sets.⁷ Similarly the concept of subtraction of sets testifies to the early use of negative numbers

1. The motivation was to give the measures of various set of souls in various control and wayward stations:

एत्तो इमेसि चोद्दसण्हं जीवसमासणं मग्गणट्ठदाए तत्थ इमाणि चोद्दस चेवट्ठाणाणि णायव्वाणि भवन्ति ॥२॥

Cf. *ibid*; 1, 1, 2.

2. Cf. 2, pp. 26, 35, 146.

3. तज्जोगो सामण्णं काओो संखाहदो तिजोग मिदं ।

सव्व समास विभज्जिदं, सग सग गुण संगुणे दु सग रासी ॥२६३॥

Cf. 3(d), Gom. Jīva Kāṇḍa, V. 263.

Cf. 3(b), Dhavalā commentaries; and 7, *op. cit.*

4. Cf. 2, p. 65 and p. 146.

5. Cf. 2, pp. 81, 146.

6. Cf. 5(a).

7. For example, in the Prakrit texts, the sentential expressions are as follows:

खेत्तेण वच्चिजोग-असच्चमोसवच्चि जोगीसु मिच्छाइट्ठीहि पदरमवहिरदि अंगुलस्स संखेज्जदि भाग वग्गपडिभागेण ॥१०८॥

Cf. 3(b), V. 1, 2, 108.

as a particular case in India, whereas in China the negative numbers appear in the first century before Christ.¹ From the records of the Tiloya Paṇṇattī and Dhavalā texts, the word R̥ṇa (Minus) was being used for the operation of subtraction.² It may be mentioned that the use of the infinities of several types of sets, ordered and cardinal, was a common thing in the Philosophy of the Prakrit Texts, and the sense of the past order did carry a meaning of reversal in the negative infinities, leave apart the concept of negation.³ Moreover, the matrix of the infinities of the Snigdha and Rukṣa (Affine and anti-Affine) levels of the touch controls of the particles, in or out of bonds also, carry the significance of the negative numbers in groups which are infinite.⁴

The theorem of Pythagoras has also been of frequent use in the geometrical as well as mensurational manipulation in earlier Prakrit texts.⁵ The proof of the theorem in the style of the Chinese Hsuan Thu (third century A.D.) appears in the work of Bhāskara (twelfth century A.D.).⁶ This does not occur elsewhere and bears a testimony to the original mathematical art of China. Most of the geometrical survey material in Chiu Chang (third century A.D.) can be seen in the work of Mahāvīrācārya⁷ (ninth century A.D.). The problems on broken bamboo, travellers meeting on the hypotenuse, area, volumes, segment,

1. Cf. 2, pp. 26, 43, 45, 90, 130, 146.
2. Cf. 1(a) p. 11, and 3(b) Dhavalā. Cf., for example, the following V. 1, 4, 52 of 3(b):
अदु चोदसभागा वा देसूणा ॥५२॥ This carries the concept of minus. Similarly VV. 1, 2, 45; 1, 2, 51; &c. convey the meaning for sets.
3. अणं ताणंताहि ओसप्पिणि-उस्सप्पिणीहि ण अवहिरंति कालेण ॥३॥
Cf. 3(b). V. 1, 2, 2.
4. Cf. 3(b), p. 184 (क) of Tōḍaramala's Artha Saṃdṛiṣṭi. Cf. also 38, op. cit., Verses 33, 34, 35, 36, 37 of Chapter fifth of Sarvārtha-siddhi. Affine may be taken as positive and anti-affine as negative.
5. The implications in the old Prakrit texts may be evident from the followin: The cosmological figures in Tiloya-paṇṇattī deal with a straight line, square, frustra of pyramid with square base, solid figures in forms of cuboid and parallelepiped, circle and its sections with straight lines, areas of parts of circle and so on. For details, see 1(a), 3(b)-Dhavalā, vol. III and IV, 3(e) and Jambūdiva Paṇṇatti, Cf. also 5(a) and 5(b).
6. Cf. 2, p. 22. For further details cf. pp. 24, 95, 96, 103, 147.
7. Cf. 1(c), and 2, p. 146. Other details may also be seen in 2 extensively.

and cone are in common in both the works.¹ Mahāvīrācārya, however, working independently in the south part of India brings out the secret of his collection as those derived from the early workers on the Jaina School of Mathematics whose piece of work may be seen in the mathematics of Tiloyapaṇṇattī.² The forms of the universes required a knowledge of geometry and mensuration to an extent of interpretations of world events of the controls of the six fluents, particularly the set of the souls and the set of the matter particles, the latter being infinite times greater than the former.³ The fundamental identity of the algebraic and geometric relations by the Chinese throughout the previous millennium has also been seen in the Prakrit Texts of the ninth century A.D.,⁴ wherein, Virasenācārya makes use of them in the method of reason for some relation between transfinite sets of souls. There are methods for analyzing sets' measures, and the method of reason is one of them. This is the method of application of areas, prevalent in Baby-

1. It may be remarked that the mistakes in the Chinese formulae for the segment and the cone have not been amended in the Indian texts, as such the reproduction at a later date shows relations between India and China on transmission of mathematical knowledge. Cf. 2, p. 147.
2. The details are available in the Tiloya Paṇṇattī and a survey of the mathematical contents may be seen in 1(a).
3. Space is divided into two parts. Universe space is that which consists of all the six Fluents including the Space itself. This is the title "Too much and not enough" in the text of Chiu Chang Suan called Lokākāśa. The rest of the infinite empty space is called Non-universe (Alokākāśa). The non-empty space or the Universe is divided into many types, details of which may be seen in 1(a). Symbol for the Set of Souls is 16 and that of all particles is 16 अ, both being transfinite. Cf. 1(b).
4. Cf. 2, p. 147. Cf. also O. 2, pp. 24, 104. The geometrical representation of the following algebraic equation is given (T being the Set of all souls)—

$$(T)^2 \div \left[T + \frac{T}{2} \right] = \frac{2}{3} T = \left[T - \frac{T}{3} \right].$$
 Cf. 3(b), Vol. iii, pp. 42. 43. Cf. 1(b), p. 274, for details.

lon¹ as well. This was seen elsewhere for the first time in the work of al-Khwarizmi (ninth century A.D.) in Persia.²

The rule of false position, seems to have been known in ancient India, under the concept of "excess and deficiency", was studied under the title "Too much and not enough" in the text of Chiu Chana Suan Shu of the first century B.C.³ The same was transmitted to the Europe and to Italy in the thirteenth century A.D. In the Prakrit texts there are many quantities (sets) shown by notations to be slightly small or slightly great.⁴

Indeterminate analysis has been a subject of great interest for the Chinese who appear to have been aware of from the fourth century A.D.⁵ While dealing with the infinities of Karmic inputs, outputs and state transitions, for which thousands of results appear in the Gommatasāra, Labdhisāra and Kṣapaṇāsāra texts, the Jaina contributors appear to have been perfect in the indeterminate analysis of the biophysical automata computations in positive integers ranging to infinities of several types.⁶ In the five types of module changes (Parāvartana—Dravya, Kṣetra, Kāla, Bhāva and Bhava), in time as well as sets, inde-

1. According to Heath, the method of application of areas appears to have originated with the Pythagoreans. From Babylonian records, however, it seems that there might have been a diffusion of such knowledge from the Near East to Greece in a period close to the eve of the Macedonian offensive against the Persian empire. Cf. T. Heath, A History of Greek Mathematics, vol. i, 1921, pp. 150, and 354. Cf. also O. Neugebauer, The Exact Sciences in Antiquity, Providence, 1957, p. 149 et Seq. The application of geometric algebra may also be found in the 3(d). We are not pointing towards the method of application of areas alone but the general technique is under discussion here.

2. Cf. 2, p. 107.

3. Cf. 2, p. 147.

4. Cf. 3(d), pp. 8, 9 of Artha Saṃdṛṣṭi (Gommatasāra) of Toḍaramala.

"मणुस पज्जत्तेसु मिच्छाइट्ठी दव्व पमाणेण केवडिया ? कोडा कोडाकोडीए उवरि कोडाकोडाकोडा कोडीए हेट्टदो छव्हं वग्गाणमुवरि सत्तण्हं वग्गाणं हेट्टदो ॥४५॥"
Cf. 3(b) V. 1, 2, 51. Various other verses may also be seen.

5. Cf. 2, p. 147.

6. See the details in 3(d). Exposition is elaborate in the Artha-Saṃdṛṣṭis of Toḍaramala.

terminate analysis plays an interesting role.¹ The Ta yen method of the Chinese was known in India as Kuṭṭaka (Āryabhaṭṭa-fifth century A.D.).²

It is interesting to know that the Hundred Fowls problem in Chang Chhiu-Chien Suan Ching (about the end of the fourth century A.D.) reappears in Mahāvīrācārya's work of the ninth century A.D.³

The study of pyramidal frustra in the Chinese and the Jaina School resembles to an appreciable extent.⁴ The former making use of the formulae in the first century B.C., whereas in India we see it in the commentaries of the Dhavalā Texts of the ninth century A.D.⁵ The concept of the frustrum arises in model of the cosmos in the Jaina School of Mathematics. Similarly the values of Π have great resemblance and have been discussed in details in the author's earlier contributions.⁶

The concept of three-dimensional geometry already existed in the concepts of the movement of the souls and matter in the way of the Descartes' frame located in the Loka (Universe).⁷ Locating the posi-

1. Cf. Sarvārtha siddhi of Pūjyapāda, commentary of Tattvārtha Sūtra, edited by Pt. Phool Chandra Siddhanta Shastri, Bharatiya Jnana Pitha, Kashi, 1955:

तत्परिवर्तनं पञ्चविधं द्रव्यपरिवर्तनं क्षेत्रपरिवर्तनं कालपरिवर्तनं भवपरिवर्तनं भावपरिवर्तनं चेति । . . . p. 164 et seq. For mathematical manipulation Cf. 3(d). Tṛṇadaramala's Artha-Saṃdṛiṣṭi (Gommatasāra), pp. 174, 175.

“सत्त्वा पयडिदिदीओ अणुभाग पदेस बंध ठाणाणि ।

मिच्छन्त संसिदेण य भमिदा पुण भाव संसारे ॥”

Cf. Sarvārthasiddhi, p. 169 for the modulo change in becomings of a mundane Soul.

2. Cf. 2, p. 122.
3. Cf. 2, p. 147.
4. Cf. 2, p. 97.
5. Cf. 5(b). Cf. also 1(a) for more details on the areas and volumes.
6. Cf. 1(a) and 1(b).

7. Cf. Sarvārthasiddhi, op. cit. 38, pp. 185 et seq.—The Verse,

विग्रहवती च संसारिणः प्राक् चतुर्भ्यः ॥२८॥

describes a Cartesian frame, confirmed by the following 2.29 and 2.30 Verses:

एकं समयाविग्रहा ॥२९॥ एकं द्वौ त्रीन्वाज्ञाहारकः ॥३०॥

tions of the sun and the moon as well as the stars in their orbits needed coordinate geometry which appears to be in clear details in Tiloya Paṇṇatti of Yati Vṛiṣabha (c. 473-609 A.D.).¹ It may be noted that the following three principles in analytical geometry were utilized in China as well as in India: (i) the invention of a system of coordinates, (ii) the recognition of the method of one-to-one correspondence, (iii) the existence of functional relations between two variables.² The period may be traced to be before the Renaissance. The concept is clear from the existence of eight central points of the Jaina School of Mathematics.³

Akin to the Chinese arithmetica and combinatorial analysis, the Jaina School of Mathematics had its own arithmetica and the methods of combinatorial analysis from the early centuries before Christ.⁴ The number mysticism of the Pythagorean era was a part of what was elaborately being studied in India and China. Artha, in India of these centuries, meant the measure of objects with respect to the Fluent (Dravya), Quarters (Kṣetra), Time (Kāla) and Becomings (Bhāvas).⁵

This is related in the mathematical model of Karma Theory. The

1. Cf. 3(e), Chapter 7, VV. 36, 39, 65, 68, 83, 89, 93, 96, 99, 104-108, 117, 161, 178, 189, 186, 216-17, 228, 237, 246, 265, 272, 276.
2. Cf. 2, p106. There may be several instances in which the same principles may be shown to exist in India. For method of one-to-one correspondence, cf. 1(b), p. 268. The relation between the sets of instants and that of points is of basic importance: *ibid.*, p. 268. By computing relations between the sets of Karma State transitions, inputs, and outputs in flow of time the Jaina School of Mathematics had evolved a much more generalized technique of coordination systems. For comprehensive details, commentary of Labdhisāra is enough.
3. Cf. Sarvārthasiddhi, op, cit. 38, p. 274:
यदा तु लोकपूरणं भवति तदा मन्दरस्याधश्चित्तवज्रपटलमध्ये
जीवस्याष्टौ मध्यप्रदेशा व्यवतिष्ठन्ते ।
4. The following two articles may be consulted:
(a) Datta, B.B., Mathematics of Nemi Chandra, The Jaina Antiquary, vol. I, no. II, 1935, pp. 25-44.
(b) Datta, B.B., The Jain School of Mathematics, Bulletin of Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. XXI, 1929, pp. 115-145.
5. Cf. 3(d) Tōḍaramala's Artha Saṃdr̥ṣṭi, (Gommatasāra), p. 1.

magic squares as well as other geometrical forms can be seen in the Jaina School.¹

In China great interest was taken in the handling of very large numbers.² In the texts of the Chou date, round about Confucian period (from sixth to fourth century B.C.), several terms for very large numbers had appeared already.³ The Jainas, round about the same period were preparing the foundations of their philosophy on the basis of the number and simile measures, the number measure extending to greater and greater infinities through the innumerables, and the simile measures filling the gaps of the number measures, through symbols and several types of operations.⁴ This is to be studied in the light of the fact that during the origination China had no influence of the Buddhists, because of the original ways and methodology adopted by the Chinese in the early centuries before Christ.

The Mohist Canon of China, touching various physical sciences dating from the close neighbourhood of the fourth century B.C., defines the fundamental concepts (of a point, etc.) in the same way as is defined in the Jaina School.⁵ The concept of the indivisible portion is inherent in both the places.⁶ The Chinese, like Zeno and the Jainas,

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1. For bibliography and indication, confer Jain, H.L. *Bhāratiya Sanskriti men Jaina Dharma kā Yogadāna*, M.P. Shasana Sahitya Parishada, Bhopal, 1962.
 2. Cf. 2, p. 82 et seq.
 3. Cf. Ibid. p. 82 et seq.
 4. The Jaina School of Mathematics had very strong reasons to have developed the techniques of handling of very large numbers, which was required of their philosophy. The Bauddhas are said to be unable to answer various types of such questions as they had no definite numbers and no precise principles. Cf. 2, p. 88. Sarton is also not possibly right in suggesting that the decimal notation was introduced to the Chinese by Chhütan Hsi-Ta or by the Polo-men books from India in the seventh or eighth century A.D. Cf. 2, p. 88. For a study of the large numbers and the systematic details of the number and simile measures cf. (3), 1(a), 5(a) and various other works. The appendix B of the *Jaina Gem Dictionary* by J.L. Jaini, The Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah, 1918 may also be consulted.
 5. Cf. 2, p. 91 et seq. For the definition of a point in the Jaina School, cf. 1(b).
 6. Cf. 1(b).

discussed the impossibility of divisibility and infinitum.¹ The concept of the method of halving continuously is the same in China and the Jaina School. In the Jaina School it has greater strength because the operators, known as the log to the base two and the log of log to the base two, were used with a perfect system of logarithmic rules, where the numbers were taken to be all integers, though comparative infinities as well.²

The mensurational formulae of China and those in the Jaina School have already been compared in the author's previous papers.³ So far as the study of the conic sections is concerned the Jaina School had subtle idea of the motions of the movements of the heavenly bodies round about some central positions as far as the motion of the Sun or the Moon is concerned.⁴ The motion was supposed to be spiral. The description of the planetary motion is not available now.⁵ The projection of the movements on the sky would lead to generation of various conic sections. The Chinese polar and equatorial system is strikingly different from that of the Hellenistic peoples, and the early conception was that of an infinite universe with stars as bodies floating in empty space.⁶ The Greek geometrical formulation of the motion of celestial bodies is absent.⁷ However the Kai Thien Theory is regarded as the most archaic, and the Hun Thien school was in correspondence with the developments of the Greek pre-Socratics.⁸ The cosmological concepts may be compared, and the origin of the conic sections traced.⁹

The study of the parts of the Jambū Dvīpa in India had already stimulated the measurements of the sides of the involved triangles, the right-angled triangles in particular.¹⁰ The details are available in

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1. For details of correlations with Zeno's work, cf. 1(a), p. 1(b), and 1(c), pp.
 2. Cf. 5(a). An article 'On certain Mathematical Topics of Dhavalā Texts' is due to appear from the Indian National Science Academy, Calcutta.
 3. Cf. 1 (a), (b), (c).
 4. Cf. 1(a),
 5. Cf. 1(a),
 6. Cf. 2, p. 219.
 7. Cf. 2, p. 171.
 8. Cf. 2, p. 210 et seq.
 9. Cf. 1(a).
 10. Cf. 1(a).

the Tiloya Paṇṇattī and in even earlier texts.¹ The progress in China is also not visible in trigonometry before the Renaissance.² Developments in Greece are available from the time of Aristarchus (circa third century B.C.), whereas in India we have no earlier records before those of Pauliṣa Siddhānta (circa fourth century A.D.).³

The Chinese had developed the ideas of matrices⁴ and their manipulation as simple method of addition etc. in determinants, through the counting rods. So also the Jaina School of Mathematics had developed concepts of manipulation with the input, output and state transition matrices used in the theory of Karma developed in the fifth or even earlier century before Christ.⁵ The first hand elaboration is thought to be that of the Japanese Seki Kowa of the seventeenth century.⁶ Thus the western influence in the development of the matrices is set aside.⁷

3. Conclusions

There are many missing links in the darkest period of the Indian History of Mathematics round about the period of Science Awakening. We have seldom any contemporary record, except a few traces, which might show some relations between India and China. However the mathematical and philosophical contributions to the world treasures

1. Cf. Sarvārthasiddhi, op. cit. 38, the original verses from Chapter 3 of Tattvārtha Sūtra:

जम्बूद्वीपलवणोदादयः शुभनामानो द्वीपसमुद्राः ॥७॥

भरतः षड्विंशपञ्चयोजन शतविस्तारः षट्चैकोनविंशतिभागा योजनस्य ॥२४॥

For mathematics of Tiloyapaṇṇattī, Cf. 1(a).

2. Cf. 2, p. 108 et seq.
3. Cf. ibid, p. 108.
4. Cf. ibid., p. 117.
5. For this study, the author has prepared an article on the Mathematical Foundations of Karma Theory, due to be published from Toronto. In 3(d) one may find several examples of various types of matrices.
6. Cf. 2, p. 117.
7. The Study of Set theory in India includes the theory of matrices as a part of the knowledge of sequences on which several types of the infinities are based, located and compared. An article on the 'Set Theory in Jaina School of Mathematics' is due to appear from Calcutta. Various types of progressions and sequences have already been discussed in 1(a). Yet, placing of the terms of the sequences in columns is of fundamental importance and this appears in the 3(d).

of knowledge are witness to the mutual transmissions of learning between India and China, and the undercurrents of the friendship between the two great nations never felt any necessity of keeping any record of the great contributions' history. The strength of the contributions had swept the whole world into a perpetual awakening of the strength of the mathematical tools that they had applied for the study of the principles of non-violence and the study of the secrets and truths of nature with utmost vigour and sincerity. The Greeks were equally influenced simultaneously, as we find today, the far-reaching effects of the principles of Mahatma Gandhi all over the world, but without any application of the tools of Mathematics which could bring about the deep truths of his all-sided weapons of truth and non-violence in the fields of political science, social science as well as in the science of economics, leaving apart the effects on the perturbed neighbourhoods of the intelligentsia.

No doubt, that the Chinese as well the Indians could not move ahead of their discoveries and inventions after the periods of the struggles against the foreign invasions, yet the material that the two nations possess has a great potentiality to be able to stand and push ahead of the ultra-modern achievements in the direction of perfecting the theory of Biophysical automata. That was the fundamental drive of the two great people long before the Christian era.

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THE CONCEPT OF ENERGY IN JAIN LITERATURE

Dr. M.R. Gelra

Jain philosophy has propounded unparalleled precepts of non-violence and its contribution in the field of science is also unique. The concept of energy in Jain Literature has been elaborately discussed under the name of *Sūkṣma Pudgala*. *Pudgala* is a technical Jain word. It is the synonym of the term matter. *Tattvārtha-Sūtra* mentions that *pudgala* is distinguished by possession of touch, taste, smell and colour. *Śrī-Jain Siddhānta-Dīpikā* mentions that *pudgala* is one of the six fundamental *dravyas* (substances) which constitute the universe.² It is not possible in such a short space, to discuss all the attributes (i.e. the tactile, the olfactory, the aural, the visual) of the *pudgala*, and my observations have been confined to *sparśa* only. Out of the eight *sparśas* (hot, cold, smooth, rugged, *snigdha*, *rūkṣa*, light, heavy)³ the discussion is centered round the masslessness of *pudgala*.

Pudgala exists mainly in two kinds, *sthūla* (gross) and *sūkṣma* (fine). The *sthūla pudgala* is very well perceptible to the senses. solids, liquid, coloured gases at ordinary temperatures are gross *pudgala* and are used in day to day life. The interesting and illuminating discussion is of the *Sūkṣma pudgala*, which is comparable to energy. It is of two types* :—

- (i) *Catuḥsparśī Pudgala* i.e. with four attributes of touch.
- (ii) *Aṣṭasparśī Pudgala* i.e. with eight attributes of touch.

Catuḥsparśī is the *pudgala* with four attributes of *sparśa*, i.e. cold, hot, *snigdha* and *rūkṣa*. Cold and hot are relative terms, similarly the *snigdha* and the *rūkṣa*. These *pudgalas* have no mass. *Aṣṭasparśī* are the *pudgalas* with eight attributes of *sparśas* i.e. hot, cold, *snigdha*, *rūkṣa* and the four secondary *sparśas* are light, heavy, smooth, and rugged. These *pudgalas* are with mass. It shows that Jainology describes energy of two types :—

- (i) energy with mass i.e. *aṣṭasparśī Sūkṣma pudgal*.
 - (ii) energy without mass or massless energy is *catuḥsparśī pudgal*.
- Einstein has proved that energy and matter are not different

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1. *Tattvārtha sūtra*, V. 23.
 2. *Śrī Jain Siddhārtha Dīpikā*, 1-1. 1-8.
 3. *Niyama—Sāra*, 21-4.
 4. *Pannavana Sūtra* pp 11., 36.

from one another but Jainology accepts separate entity of the energy which is without mass.

These two forms of *pudgala* reveal that mass is not the fundamental attribute of the *pudgala*. It is a derived one. It is a property which is evolved due to various combinations of *sūkṣma pudgala*. This idea of massless energy is unacceptable to modern science. According to Einstein's famous equation¹ $E=mc^2$, mass is related to energy and therefore energy and mass are just different names of the same thing. Jain thinkers suggest that the above equation is applicable to *Aṣṭasparśī Sūkṣma pudgala* which possesses mass. Such *pudgala* includes the waves of light, darkness, heat, electricity, *udyota* (lustre), *prabhā* (radiance), reflection, shadow,² etc. The energy in the above-mentioned forms is with mass and it is certainly not different from mass and matter. Further the Jain concept of the energy is profounder and mentions that *catuḥsparśī pudgala* is without mass. They are very *sūkṣma* in nature that they are not perceptible by senses. Such *pudgala* includes the waves of breathing, vibrations of speech and mind and *kārmic* matter attached to the soul. *Catuḥsparśī pudgala* moves with a greater velocity than *Aṣṭasparśī pudgala* because, former is without mass. Electromagnetic radiations which move with tremendous velocity should be the examples of *Catuḥsparśī pudgala*. Jaina literature predicts that *paramāṇu*, the smallest part of the *pudgala* can move from one end of the universe to the other in a unit fraction of time.⁵ It means that the Jaina concept regarding the velocity of *pudgala* *paramāṇu* is much greater than the velocity of light. Very recently scientist Prof. Sudersen of India, has talked about the particle which moves with the velocity greater than the velocity of light.

Heisenberg's principle of uncertainty, indirectly, directs towards the existence of two forms of fine matter. The principle states⁹ that events at the sub-atomic level cannot be observed with certainty. He tried to resolve the paradox that particles sometimes behave like waves and waves like particles. It is very strange but accepted in the field of science as there was no other alternative. It is a compromise of Einstein and Plank's work. The readers of Jainology do not find it difficult to understand the simultaneous existence of particle and its field. *Aṣṭasparśī pudgala* is always associated with *catuḥsparśī pudgala*,

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1. Physical Chemistry by Bahl.
 2. Śrī Jain Siddhānta Dīpikā, 1-12.
 3. Bhagavatī Sūtra 12-4.
 4. Jain Philosophy and Modern Science—Muni Nagraj ji p. 96
 5. Scientific American Jan 58 George Gamou.

and they are inter-convertible. The electric and magnetic fields, gravitational forces are the fine form of the matter and according to Jainology, as the *pudgala* becomes finer, it loses mass. Further, the finer form travels in the form of waves. Certain spiritualists cause wonders and miracles because they know the resonating behaviour of such a *pudgala*.

Catuhsparsī pudgala pervades the universe. According to Jainology the entire space of the Lokākāśa is densely packed with such *pudgala*.¹ And even then it does not largely obstruct the motion and action of *sthūla pudgala*. The relationship of space and matter was not well understood in the field of science until the idea of energy fully developed. Nobel Laureate, Erwin Schoödinger, in the article 'What is matter' mentioned that the gravitational forces, scattered and diffracted light are reaching the far end of universe from the remote stars situated at the distant places. No space is left vacant. It is full of matter. This statement needs clarification because if it is so then such matter with mass will disturb the behaviour of gross *pudgala*, which is not observed in experimental science. Jainology does not come in such a contradiction and accepts choufarshi *pudgala* without mass and therefore does not obstruct with gross *pudgala*.

Further, Jainology states that a single free *paramāṇu* can fully occupy its equivalent of space, on the other hand uncountable *paramāṇus* may be contained in the same unit of space simultaneously. It explains the compressibility of *pudgala*. Science has made it easy to understand such unique property of *pudgala*. When it accepts that a cubic inch of material of the star weights nearly 620 tons,² a cubic inch of air possesses various molecules. Heisenburg pointed out that even dim light consists of billions of photons.

It will be useful to study the other classification of the *pudgala* discussed in Jain literature. *Pudgala* exists in two forms,⁴ (i) *Paramāṇu*, (ii) *Skandha*.

Paramāṇu is the smallest part of the *pudgala*,⁵ but it is different from the term atom. 'Atom has become divisible. Atom consists of electron, proton and neutron. Bhagavatī-Sūtra describes on various levels the diverse attributes of *paramāṇu*; its colour, smell, touch and taste.

1. Bhagavatī Sūtra 1-6.

2. Scientific American 1958.

3. Jain Philosophy and Modern Science—Muni Nagaraj ji p. 99.

4. Jain Siddhānta Dīpikā 1-13.

5. Ibid. 1-14.

Each *paramāṇu* is of two *sparśas*. It will be either cold or hot and *snigdha* or *rūkṣa*. In this way four types of *paramāṇus* are possible: cold and *snigdha* or cold and *rūkṣa* or hot and *snigdha* or hot and *rūkṣa*. It shows that these four *sparśas* are the original of *pudgala*.

Skandha is an individual aggregate formed by the combination of *paramāṇus*.¹ Two *paramāṇus* may combine and form *dvi-pradeśi Skandha*. More *paramāṇus* or *skandhas* may combine to form countable, uncountable or infinite *pradeśi skandhas*. (Pradeśa means a *paramāṇu* in union with the *skandha*). The Jain concept regarding the combination of the similar or dissimilar *sparśas* of *paramāṇus* and later on the conversion of *catuḥsparśi skandhas*² to *Aṣṭasparśi skandhas* can be treated separately.

Earlier discussion of *pudgala* as a *catuḥsparśi* and *aṣṭasparśi* form was of infinite *pradeśi skandhas* only. All the living bodies can make use of such *skandhas* only. *Paramāṇu* or countable *pradeśi skandhas* are of no use to the living bodies directly.

Experimental scientific evidence of the fusion and fission processes through atom bomb and hydrogen bombs revealed the formation of matter into energy. It is possible that the research work at low temperature may reveal that the temperature is an original attribute of matter and not the mass.

The studies.³ of Helium at temperature within two degrees of absolute zero has shown the behaviourship of erfluidity. In cryogenic experiments, liquid helium by flows without friction passing through slits so small that they are impenetrable to ordinary liquids. The electrons in the super conducting metals also move without friction. Superfluidity of such electrons is explained on presuming the formation of cooper pairs. But the experiments on Helium—3 have shown finite discontinuity in the specific heat at 0.002° K such phase transition cannot be explained on the basis of pairing of electrons because electrons are negatively charged and helium—3 atoms are electrically neutral. This frictionless behaviour may be explained by the readers of Jainology on the basis of the *sūkṣma pudgala*, which loses mass as they become finer and finer.

1. Ibid. 1-15 Sthangan sūtra bhagawati 5/7

2. Ibid. 1-17. 18.

3. Science Today, May, 73, p. 20.

The outcome of the scientific studies during the various journeys carried out in space may enlighten us more, regarding the energy pervading the outer space. Since recent scientific experiments in the field have not fructified, it is not possible to comment on the problem from the scientific point of view.

In fine, it is evident from the above discussion that the Jain thinkers are not only in possession of the key to spiritual development, but also their understanding of matter and energy is far in advance of the modern scientific knowledge.



CONTRIBUTION OF JAINS TO CHEMICAL KNOWLEDGE

N. L. Jain

Jainism is one of the oldest religions of the world which seems to preserve Dravidian culture. Its concepts of polyviews and dualism of the material world have attracted the attention of a large number of scholars. Its literature dates from many centuries B.C. to about 17th century A.D. and it contains a large amount of material concerning Chemistry. This article is an attempt to present a comparative study of these contents with modern Chemical postulates.

Modern Chemistry deals with (1) definition of matter (2) structure of matter (3) combination and decomposition of substances and (4) study of individual substances existing or newly developed. Many authors have studied some facets of the above, but no integrated study seems to have been done. One must note that people believe that man cannot create new substances and therefore there is more of analytical approach than the synthetic approach.

(1) *Definition of Matter*

Matter has been taken both ways, in crude form and fundamental form. It has been defined generally and specifically. Alap paddhati (10th century) describes ten general attributes and six special attributes of matter. Existence, motion, changeability, knowledgeability, individuality, corpuscularity, sensitivity (or insensitivity) and shape or visibility (or otherwise) are the ten general attributes. The chemical definition of matter as having weight and space-filling property seems to be too crude on this basis as this does not include such properties as corpuscularity, changeability, sensitivity and others which are also as general as weight and volume.

Every material has some co-existing attributes and some changing attributes. These are called *Guṇas* and *Paryāyas* respectively. The above chemical definition therefore requires some modification following Devsen.

Chemistry deals with two types of substances—common visible materials (*bhāva pudgala*) and ultimate material from which these are made (*dravya pudgala*). The ultimate material has been termed as *Dravya* meaning matter with changeability through permanence. Gold remains gold whatever shape it takes in the form of ornaments. The

permanence of goldness is an important point which has led Jain thinkers to believe in indestructibility of matter. Mellor, Whitehead Sarnot and other scholars of the world have also defined the law of conservation of matter as a matter possessing permanence through its manifold changes. The conservation law is, thus 2000 years old rather than two hundred years old as the modern chemists would prefer to say. The word matter has been termed as Pudgala-possessing properties of combination and decomposition which are the most common properties of matter.

2. *Special attributes of Matter*

There are differentiation points between similar and dis-similar substances. Touch, taste, colour, smell, form and insensitivity are the six co-existing attributes. There are some non-coexisting attributes also such as fineness and grossness, association and dissociation capacity and the like. Out of six co-existing attributes, four are said to be existing together. If one of them is found, the other three are to be definitely to be there. This differentiates Jains with Vaiśeṣikas who attribute one or another of these to earth, water, fire and air. There is sufficient discussion in literature as to why the four should coexist. These four attributes have been subdivided into twenty. Eight varieties of touch include states of matter, density, temperature, electrical and crystalline properties of substances. The new chemist knows that these are characteristic properties of various substances.

Jain thinkers hold five colours instead of seven of the Physicists. They say five colours are basic and a multitude can be formed out of them. In them, they include black and white colours to which the modern physicist would not agree. This matter requires exploration in detail about the ultimate nature of the colours described in literature. This will be subject of another study.

Taste has also been divided in five types which does not include salty taste. It seems it has been included either in astringent (basic) or sour (acid) taste which does not seem to be correct as salts are formed from acids and bases which have a distinct taste. However, it seems surprising that scientists agree that normal taste sensation has a combined effect of taste and smell organs. Smell has been said of two types—good or bad. Modern science, however, has gone far advanced in this regard. There are at least nine types of smell and one can measure the olfactory coefficient of various persons. One can easily see that though Science seems to have more detailed knowledge of these properties but this is just an addition to the existing Jain concept rather than negation except in a few cases.

The non-coexisting attributes of matter have also been illustrated in literature. For example, the dissociation capacity has been classified in such a way as to show the mechanical strength of various solid materials. It must be noted, however, that the number of such special properties in literature is very small in comparison to the twentieth century Chemistry.

3. *Structure of Matter*

On the basis of structure, all materials have been classified in two major classes—*parmaṇu* (atom) and *skandha* (molecule). All materials including eight types of activities (*karmas*) and five types of fine bodies are molecular in nature and the molecules are formed by the combination of atoms in different numbers, dissociation of molecules into smaller molecules or association of them into still bigger molecules. Thus, the basic structural unit of all non-living Universe is atom and the atomic theory of Jains is far developed than that of Kaṇāda according to Partington. But nowhere this fact has been recognised at par per chance due to ignorance or non-availability of Jain literature in better readable language. This fact is also responsible for many confused opinions about Jainism and its concepts.

The atoms of Jains are indivisible, indestructible and invisible. They are particularly spherical with emptiness in them. They have expansion and contraction capacity (per chance referring to changes due to energy take-in and take-out). All atoms are similar and indistinguishable as they are weightless and soft. This attribute is not accepted by Chemists of today. They have weighed the different atoms and they are able to differentiate between atoms of different substances. The atoms possess electrical nature and are always in various types of motion which is elastic. Atoms form various types of innumerable molecules.

Most of the above postulates are far ahead of Dalton's theory of 19th century as it combines the atomic theory and kinetic theory together. It includes random and linear motions and elastic collisions of modern kinetic theory. Modern chemistry is now far ahead of Dalton and now atoms consist of upto 24 fundamental particles. They have been weighed, seen and divided. This means Jain concepts have to be modernised with a scientific attitude. Some Jain scholars, however, think that Jain atom is the modern electron or positron which seems not justifiable. Similar concepts of all ancient schools in the world have changed. Of course, Jains have a little better insight regarding their hollowness, discreteness, electrical nature and the like.

The Jains have classified the atoms in a number of ways. There are some atoms which can produce material substances while others could

be produced ultimately from the molecules. Bhagavat⁷ Sūtra describes atoms of four types. Depending upon properties like touch, taste, smell and colour, atoms have been divided into 200 types. Chemistry of today deals with only 105 types and this number seems to be too small for Jain atomists. The chemists seem to have an encouraging ground for exploring about newer atoms or elements.

3.2 *Molecules or Skandhas*

Atoms combine to form skandhas which could be visible to the naked eye or invisible. These include various forms of energies like light, sound and heat. This suggests the Jain thinkers' corpuscular theory regarding these substances. Pañcāstikāya describes six types of skandhas bases on increasing fineness but makes an anomalous point of putting light etc. over air and other gaseous materials. Light particles (if they are) are definitely much smaller in size than air etc., and therefore should be below the gaseous skandhas. It is important to see that earlier physicists did believe in the corpuscular nature of energies but now (20th century) they have turned towards wavicular nature as it explains their properties better. One aspect of this concept has been the natural idea of conversion of energy into matter and vice-versa. This fact could be learnt by Science only in the early part of the 20th century. One of the skandhas is the finest karmic matter upto a combination of two atoms. They represent the actions and activities of living beings which effect the course of their future actions. The mental, physical and environmental disturbances create brainwave-like materials effecting all our mechanism. The same might apply to the effect of various planets on the life of man. These effects are atomic or sub-atomic in nature causing reflex in body and mind. This reflex action seems to be the base for Jain Theory of Actions.

There are other classifications of molecules. One of them divides them into 22 varieties while the other into 530 types. Actually, molecular varieties are limitless. The overall classification suggests that it is based more on physical factors like grossness and fineness or visibility or otherwise. It does not involve a classification based on internal structure of molecules themselves.

4. *Combination of Atoms and formation of Molecules: Theory of Bonding*

Normally, molecules are formed by association, dissociation and a mixed process. These processes are just equivalent to direct combination (*sanghāta*), decomposition (*bheda*) and single and double

displacement (*bheda-sanghāta*). Dale Rieppe says these processes are more specific and clear than Kaṇāda or Greek philosophers.

Jain thinkers have thought over the basic cause of combining the atoms to form the molecules. Formerly it was believed due to some affinity between the atoms as the scientists upto 18th century believed. Later on, the word '*snigdhatva*' was redefined by Pūjyapādā that it is the property of electricity which is of two kinds. Thus came the point of electrical nature of atoms in Jainism, round about the 8th century. The modern Valency theory is also based on the fundamental electrical nature of atoms but was developed in the 20th century. The words *snigdhatva* and *rūkṣatva* should be interpreted as opposite charges of electricity. Atoms are of two types—say one charged with positive electricity and the other charged with negative one. It is due to this difference that they combine. This combination can take place in three ways equivalent to three types of modern bonding. In the first type, atoms of opposite charges combine. This is equivalent to electro-valency where excess electron on one atom is transferred to another short of it. There is an exception to this type. Atoms with zero level, charge do not combine. This is also true currently as in the case of inert gases like Helium. If at all they combine, they have to be highly activated when their charge distribution is disturbed.

The second type of bonding exists between atoms of similar charge. The old canons have an ambiguous axiom for it and some exponents have negatived this type of combination. This leads to combination of dissimilarly-charged similar or similarly-charged dissimilar atoms. Currently, similarly charged similar atoms like hydrogen have combining capacity to form molecules. It is presumed that bonding of such type might take place either between oppositely spinning atoms or atoms with sharing capacity. Opposing spins of atoms disturb their normal nature and combination takes place. This is how dissimilarly-natured similar atoms could combine. However, sharing of electrical charges also causes bonding. This is the way similarly-charged similar atoms do combine. Under these circumstances, the exposition of second type of bonding should mean positive bonding rather than its negation. It therefore requires necessary modification of its expositions.

The third type of bonding takes place between two more extra charges in one of the combining atoms. This is equivalent to modern co-ordinate bond. Hydrogen peroxide and sulphuric acid have this type of bonding. Some scholars have preferred bonding between atoms with a pair of charges in excess in one, while others prefer bonding between atoms with pairs of charges in excess in one of the combining

atoms. The later opinion is a twentieth century verification. It is presumed that due to bonding, the new molecules formed will have different properties than their constituents but that property will be more akin to the part in larger proportion. This akinness is not substantiable today but it was also the older opinion. The new molecule have any property depending upon the condition under which bonding had taken place.

4-2. *Physical conditions for bond formation*

Bonding means a non-elastic attachment between atoms. Jains assume that bonding or chemical reaction is due to collision between atoms and molecules. Under normal circumstances, atoms have more energy than molecules as part of thir energy is utilised in their bonding. Thus, when a high energy atom collides with a molecule, it curtails its speed or energy and causes its bonding. This is nothing else but the modern theory of reactions involving non-elastic collisions. The energy necessary for bonding may be internally available or supplied from external sources like heat, light etc. Thus one finds all the qualitative description of collision theory in Jain literature. There is some more addition to the fact. Sometimes, bonding may be naturally occurring under the presence of metallic catalysts, and change in physical environments like temperature etc. Thus, electrical nature, specific collisions, catalysts, temperature, pressure and contacts lead to chemical or permanent bond between atoms. This is what is taught in Chemistry at Higher Secondary level even.

It is opined that bonding consists of two types—partial and complete. A new molecule is formed only when one complete atom combines with another atom completely.

It has been shown that Chemical contents of Jain literature are sufficiently advanced of their own times and even in the times of nineteenth century. We find the basic qualitative skeleton of atomic structure, theory of valency and theory of reactions with a kinetic approach in these cannons as it is prevalent today. The nonavailability of this literature to the scientific world has definitely retarded the progress of science of early centuries. A large number of studies are required for a complete picture of the aspects described in this paper.

JAINISM IN KARNATAK

Dr. T.G. Kalghatgi

History of Karnatak is intimately connected with the history and development of Jainism in this part of the country. Jainism is a realistic philosophy. As a religion, it is a protest against the authority of the Vedas and the Pseudo-spiritualism of an elaborate sacrificial form of worship. It is a free-Aryan religion which prevailed even before Pārśva and Mahāvīra, the last two tīrthaṅkaras.¹ Jainism is a way of life which has permeated the life-pulse of the people of Karnatak for over two thousand years.

The Jaina poet Nṛpatuṅga, in the 9th century A.D., described the expanse of Karnatak as the country—extending from the rivers Godāvarī to Kāverī, and the land with people skilled in the art of making speeches and well-versed in poetry.²

The impact of Jainism as religion and philosophy may be considered from three aspects: (i) Political influence and royal patronage, (ii) its contribution literature and art and (iii) its influence on the life and philosophy of the people of Karnatak.

Political influence and royal patronage:—

Exactly when Jainism came to the south, specially to Karnātak, is difficult to say. There is a tradition in Jainism which says that the land was ruled by Jivandhara in the 6th century B.C. who was himself a Jaina and who met Mahāvīra when he came down to the south. Mahāvīra gave Dīkṣā to him, and the king became an ascetic.³

Apart from this tradition, it is fairly certain that Jainism entered Karnātak well before the Christian era. Jainism came down to the south with Bhadrabāhu Svāmin, the last of the Śrutakevalins. He reached, by stages a country filled with happy people.⁴

He was accompanied by Candrugupta, the Maurya. Bhadrabāhu Svāmin practised Samlekhanā on the mount Chandragiri in 297

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1. Zimmer (H) *Philosophies of India* (1451) Pt. 6 and Radhakrishnan (s) *Indian Philosophy* Vol. I
 2. *Karnatak kavi Charitre*—Intro., I. P. xvii.
 3. *Jivandhar Charite*—Bhaskar Kavi as mentioned, in *Karnatak through the Ages*, Govt. of Mysore, 1968.
 4. Inscription in Chandragiri, Śravaṇabelagola.

B.C.¹ This was the beginning of the influence of Jainism in the south. Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka, was himself a Jaina in his earlier days. He sent missionaries to the south. For nearly 12 hundred years, from the 2nd century A.D. to 13th century A.D., Jainism played an important part in the social and political life of the people. It influenced the lives of the princes and the people alike. The earliest political influence of Jaina Dharma is evidenced by the establishment of a Jaina kingdom in the south. Sometime in the 3rd century A.D., two princes of the Ganga family came to the city of Perur in the south. Ācārya Simhanadi initiated one of them in the Syādvāda doctrine and Konguṇivarma I established the Ganga dynasty with the blessings of the Ācārya. There were many Jainas in the population of Karnatak at the time. The Gangas continued their patronage to the Jaina religion. The Ganga monarchs, except in a few cases, gave royal patronage to Jainism for centuries after Konguṇivarma I. Avinīta (500—504 A.D.) and Durvinīta (500-600 A.D.) were devout Jainas. Pūjyapāda the celebrated grammarian was their spiritual teacher. Kind Śivamāra II built the Basadi on the smaller hill at Śravaṇabelagola.

Jainism also gained the royal benevolence of the Kadambas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Kadambas were essentially Brahmanical in religion; yet some of them fostered the cause of the Jaina religion in Karnatak. King Kakutasthavarman gave to Śrutakīrti the field called Badovarākṣetra which belonged to the holy Arhats. Mṛigesavarman, his grandson, granted certain specified fields for the purpose of cleaning the Jinālaya for worship, offering flowers and also for repairs. Jainism continued to prosper also under King Ravivarman, who built a Jaina temple at Pālāsika (modern Halasi) in the Belgaum District. King Harivarman continued the tradition of his father and made generous donations and gifts to the worship of Jinendra and for maintenance of the devotees.²

The Cālukyas of Bādāmi gave patronage to the Jainas by giving gifts of land to Jaina Temples—Ravikīrti, the famous Jaina writer, received high honour from Pulakeśi II.³

The Cālukya rulers, Vinayāditya, Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya gave liberal donations to the Jaina temples. The sculpture and paintings used in Ellorā and Ajantā were copied in the caves of Bādāmi for depicting the Jaina and Hindu deities. The carvings of images of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras and of Viṣṇu are found side by side in Bādāmi.

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1. Jacobi, H.: Kalpasutra—Introduction.
 2. Karnatak through the Ages. p. 165.
 3. Aihole inscription 634

The religious ideas and practices of the earlier period continued to be practised during the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period. Jainas received royal patronage in the reign of Nṛpatunga who was himself a Jaina. Jainism did not suffer influence during the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period although there was, at a later stage, revival of Hindu influence. This was because the people were used to Jaina practices and Jainism was popular among them., and also because some Rāṣṭrakūṭa generals were also Jainas. Bankeśa and his son Lokadiśa were Viceroys at Banavasi and they favoured Jainism.¹

Similarly the influence of eminent poets like Pampa and philosophers like Samantabhadra and Akalaṅka was immense. People did not feel any difference between Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism. Any one could follow a religion and faith of his choice. Rāṣṭrakūṭa period witnessed the production of the Jaina philosophical literature.²

During the Hoysala period Jainism was an influential force. In fact the Hoysalas owed much to the foresight and wisdom of the Jaina Ācāryas. The period between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries was favourable for the propagation and glorification of the Jaina faith. Most of Hoysala kings were Jains and they patronised the Jaina temples and institutions. Jainism was a living faith for many classes of people, from the peasants to the princes. The founder of the Hoysala dynasty had the blessings of the Jaina Ācārya Vardhamāna muni, his successors gave unstinted support to Jaina religion. Ācārya Śāntideva at the time of king Vinayāditya II, was not only a Rājaguru but also Rāṣṭraguru. Other kings like Ballala I continued to patronise Jainism. The celebrated king Viṣṇuvardhana is said to have changed his faith under the influence of Rāmānujācārya. Yet he continued to be a benevolent patron of Jainism. The Queen Śāntalādevī was a devout Jaina and she made liberal donations to the construction of Jaina temples. Instances are not wanting among the royal families in Karnatak where the king professed one faith and the queen the other. There is ample evidence to show that there was perfect toleration between the different faiths in the country.

The same tradition of toleration continued under the rulers of Vijayanagar. During the period of Vira Bukkarāya I (1368 A.D.), a dispute arose between Jainas and Vaiṣṇavas regarding some injustice done to the Jainas. Bukkarāya took the hands of the Jainas and placing them in the hands of the Vaiṣṇavas said,—"For as long as the Sun and Moon last, the Vaiṣṇavas will continue to protect Jaina Darśana. The Vaiṣṇavas and Jainas are one body; they must not

1. *Karnatak through the Ages* P. 243

2. . *ibid* p. 245

be viewed as different.¹ Bukkarāya II also made liberal grants to Jaina temples. Other Vijayanagar rulers patronised Jainism to the same extent. We may, therefore, say that the Vijayanagar rulers gave protection to Jainism. However, the Ganga period saw the golden age for Jainism and the best days were over when Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana came under the influence of Rāmānujācārya.

Even the minor rulers, like Śilāhārs of Kolhapur and Raṭṭas of Saudatti, patronised Jainism. Jainism wielded a great influence in the west coast in south Canara district. The chieftains under the Vijayanagar empire gave liberal donations to Jaina temples. Jainism enjoyed patronage of minor rulers like Wadeyars of Karkala and the princes of Mudabidare. The history of Karnatak was marked by perfect toleration and mutual respect among different religions. Viraballāḥa was a great patron of Jainism. The influence of Jainism had reached to the west coast upto Goa. However the decline of Jaina influence started after a conflict between the rulers of Ikkeri and of Bidnur with the rulers of Bhatkala. Out of the sixty-eight Basadis at Bhaṭkaḥa only two remained.² Decline of the influence of Jainism was hastened with the rise of Veeraśaivism and the entry of Muslim rule.

2. We may now consider the contribution of Jainism to literature in Karnatak. Jainism was an inspiration to the writers both in Sanskrit and Prakrit and in Kannada. The influence of Jainism in religious literature can be studied with reference to Sanskrit, Prakrit and Kannada writers.

The greatest among the Ācāryas in Karnatak who contributed to the Jaina literature is Kundakundācārya who must have lived in the 1st century B.C. He was the earlist and the best known among the Jaina writers in the south. An inscription in Śravaṇa Belagola says, "The lord of ascetics, Kundakunda, was born through the good fortune of the world. In order to show that he was not touched in the least, both within and without, by dust (passion), the lord of ascetics, I believe, left the earth, the abode of dust, and moved four inches above".³ His writings have been known for their philosophical thought and literary excellence. Some of his books like (1) *Pañcāstikāyasāra* (2) *Pravacanasāra*; (3) *Samayasāra* and (4) *Niyamasāra* are philosophical classics.

The next name in the list of prominent writers is that of Umāsvāti or Umāsvāmi who is said to have lived in the 1st century A.D. He

1. *Epigraphia Carnatica* II, 513.44

2. Buchanan, *Travels* p. 132

3. *Ep. Car.* II, SB. 254, 351.

was a disciple of Kundakundācārya. The most celebrated work of his, *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* is the Jaina bible. It has many commentaries in the south; chief among them are by Samantabhadra, Pūjyapāda, Akalaṅka, Vidyānanda and Prabhacandra.

Samantabhadra is the next important writer. His date cannot be easily fixed; it appears that he flourished in the 5th or the 6th century A.D.¹ There is a good deal of legendary information about the life of Ācārya Samantabhadra. Samantabhadra was greatly respected by the Jains of his time. In fact he was one of the few Jaina Ācāryas whose works have stood the test of time and are read even today. His *Aptamīmāṃsā* and *Ratnakaraṇḍaka Śrāvākācāra* are well-known. They are characterised by deep devotion which was an important trait in the character of Samantabhadra. *Ratnakaraṇḍaka* is an authoritative work on the Jaina social ethics.

After Samantabhadra, the Pūjyapāda and Akalaṅka are great names. Pūjyapāda distinguished himself by his study of grammar. Akalaṅka was great logician. Devanandi was another name of Pūjyapāda.² His work on grammar *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa* is famous. *Pañcavastuka* best commentary on *Jainendra* is also supposed to be the work of Pūjyapāda. Besides grammatical works Pūjyapāda wrote a treatise on medicine. His work *Sarvārtha-Siddhi* is an elaborate commentary on the *Tattvārthasūtra* of Umāsvāti. Dr. Hiralal says that he must have lived in the 6th century A.D. Akalaṅka was a great logician. Tradition says he was a son of Śubhatunga, king of Mānyakheta, who is identified with Kṛṣṇa I. Rāṣṭrakūṭa, who reigned during the latter half of the eighth century A.D. He is said to have challenged the Buddhists at the court of king Hastimalla of Kānchi for a discussion. His most famous works, *Tattvārtha-vārtika vyākhyālaṅkāra* which is a commentary on *Tattvārtha sūtra*, *Aṣṭaśati* and *Aṣṭasāhasrī* are wellknown. It appears he was from Sravana belgola..³

Among the later successors of Akalaṅka, Prabhacandra is prominent. He is the author of *Nyāya kumuda candrodaya* and *Prameya Kamalamārtanḍa*. Considerable literary activity was carried on under the patronage of Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings. The Sanskrit and Prakrit works present the Jaina philosophical concepts in a clear and lucid way. The *Tattvārtha sūtra* and *Pañcāstikāyasāra* are important landmarks in the Jaina philosophical literature.

Next important contribution to Jaina philosophy is by Nemicandra Siddhānta Cakravartī. He was a guru of Cāmuṇḍarāya who was

1. Rice (E.P.), *Kanarese literature*, p. 41

2. Pathak, Ind. Antiquary XII, p. 19

3. Rice, op. cit., p. 372

instrumental in installing the monolithic statue of Bahubali at Śravaṇa-belagola. He was in the 10th century A.D. His *Dravyasaṅgraha* marks an important step in the exposition of Jaina Metaphysics. His other works, *Gommaṭasāra*, *Labdhisāra*, *Kṣapaṇasāra* and *Trilokasāra* are important.

The Jaina contribution to Sanskrit and Prakrit literature is immense. Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa* is important. The Jaina version of Rāmāyaṇa has its own special characteristic, in which Rāvāṇa like Rāma, is claimed to be a Jaina with sterling character. There is also a Jaina version of Mahābhārata. One of the most important of them is *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* of Jinasena. It deals with ancient dynasties like the Kurus, Pāṇḍavas and Yādavas cast in Jaina moulds and devoted to Jaina worship. The Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata as presented by Jainas need to be appreciated in the context of Jaina religion and philosophy.

Jainas have made substantial contribution to the enrichment of Kannada literature. The most important among the Jaina writers in Kannada is Pampa. His *Ādipurāṇa* gives a graphic picture of the life of the first Tirthaṅkara. This was composed in 941 A.D. when the poet was thirty nine years of age. This work is "unsurpassed in style among the Kannada poets."¹ *Pampabhārata* is the earliest extant version of the epic in Kannada. *Pampa Bhārata* gives the Jaina version of Mahābhārata which has some distinctive features in the light of Jaina philosophy. The poet identifies Arjuna with Arikeśarī, his patron, and compares him to Viṣṇu and Śiva. Rice finds in this an oriental parallel to Spenser's 'Faerie Queene' in which Gloriana is Queen Elizabeth.²

We come to another Jaina writer Somadeva. His work *Yaśastilaka Campū* written in mixed prose and verse is characterised by great learning and masterly style.

Narasimhāchār in his *Karnatak Kavicaritre* writes that no less than 95 Jaina poets have contributed to the enrichment of Kannada literature. Like Adipampa, Nāgavarma and Ponna are also prominent writers. Another writer who deserves mention is Ranna whose *Ajitapurāṇa* and *Gadāyuddha* are famous.

It is not possible to cover the entire extent of influence of Jainism on Kannada, Sanskrit and Prakrit literature in this paper. Suffice it

1. Cf. Rice (E.P.) op. cit., pp. 30-31

2. ibid., p. 31

3. Samayas darśana Jñāna Caritrām mokṣa mārgaḥ: *Tattvārtha sūtra*.

to say that Jainas are prominent in presenting effectively Jaina philosophy in Karnatak and are pioneers in contributing to the richness and variety in Kannada literature.

3. We may now consider the impact of Jaina philosophy on the life of the people of Karnatak. The Jaina Weltanschauung presents synthesis of the right intuition, right knowledge and right conduct. The cardinal principles of Jainism are *syādvāda* which is a logical expression of *Anekāntavāda*, (2) eternity of the self and the concept of self-effort. Jainism presents the rationalistic atheism and a high spiritual idealism. It also mentions the importance of personal moral responsibility. Jacobi says that the concept of *Jīva* is a hylozoistic theory which pervades the whole philosophical system and code of morals.¹ The rationale underlying the Jaina metaphysics and ethics is their doctrine of the Universality of *ahiṃsā*.

The doctrine of *ahiṃsā* had played an important part in moulding the life of the people in Karnatak. It has also permeated the spirit of their literature. This is evidently illustrated in the *Yaśastilaka-Campū* of Somadeva. The Prince Yaśodhara was resisting the persuasion of his mother to offer sacrifice of animals. He protested, as it would involve violence of life. He was in the end persuaded to sacrifice and effigy instead of the live animal. As a consequence of this symbolic violence, he had to undergo suffering in a round of transmigrations. The principle under this story is the universality of *ahiṃsā* and the doctrine of Karma. Due to the practice of *ahiṃsā*, it was possible for the Jainas to influence society to a great extent to avoid sacrifice.

2. The rationalistic atheism of the Jainas denied the existence of a creator God. He is not necessary, because the self and the universe are uncreated and therefore eternal.² We have not to seek God in the world outside, nor is God to be found 'in the dark lonely corner of a temple with doors all shut'. He is there within us. 'He is there with the tiller' tilling the ground and the pathmaker breaking stones. Each individual soul is to be considered as God, as he is essentially divine in nature.

However, the Jainas worship *Tīrthaṅkaras* not because they are gods, but because they are ideals for us, but because they are human and yet divine.

1. Jacobi: *Studies in Jainism and Jaina sutras* S.B.E. XXII Introd.

2. The Śubhacandra, Com. *Kārtikeyānuprekṣā* ch. X; cf. Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 113.

But, Jaina concept of divinity and their practice of worship were also influenced by other ideas and practices prevailing in society. This influence is evident in the Jaina practice of worshipping the deities like Padmāvatī and Jvālāmālīnī. This was due to the psychological and sociological necessity. Men feel helpless and they need some higher being to protect them; they worship such higher beings. Similarly the current practices and cults prevailing in society have been assimilated in the Jaina form of worship. For instance, Akalaṅka is said to have invoked the Goddess Kuṣmāṇḍinī to work a miracle against the Buddhist goddess Tārā, and by her interference won a victory over his rivals.¹ Elācārya allays the devil by means of the Jvālāmālīnī-stotra.² There are, in the inscriptions, frequent allusions to the goddess Padmāvatī. She still finds a large number of devotees. Jains invoke the goddess Padmāvatī for the increase of wealth. Later on, we are told, "that Yakṣī became worshipped as the goddess Vasantikā."³ Every Jaina family in Karnatak has a copy of *Ammanavara caritre* which is devoutly read every day. Similarly Jains in the south have notions about demons and ghosts very much similar to the ideas of those prevailing in other Hindu society. The Jains in south Canara had the practice of worshipping the Bhūtas. They used to set apart room for them in their houses. Thus, we find the sociological influence of the practices of mantra and tantra are also to be found among the Jains. These forms of worship must have arisen out of the contact with the other competing faiths and with the purpose of popularising Jainism. Jainism had to compete with other Hindu creeds. Yakṣī form of worship must have been introduced in order to attract the common men towards Jainism by appealing to the popular forms of worship. These tendencies have been absorbed and assimilated in the struggle for existence and survival, We may, here, refer to the inconceivable changes the Buddhist forms of worship have undergone in the various countries of the world, like the tantric forms of worship in Tibetan Lamaism.⁴

In the Jaina ethics there is distinction between the individual and social morality. Jains have made a classification of the society into distinct levels, the Munis and the Śrāvakas. This distinction had played an important part in preserving the Jaina theory and practice of worship and making the society more compact. Jainism has survived, through

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1. Cf. *Epigraphia Carnatica* II, Introd.
 2. Hiralal, *Catalogue of MSS.* in C.P. and Berar, Introd.
 3. Cf Buchanan's *Travels* III, p. 81.
 4. Kalghatgi (T.G.) *Jaina View of life* (Jivaraj Granthamala No. 20) 1969 p. 178.

centuries, the onslaughts of social and political influences of other communities. The Jainas are quite aware that there is a division of functions between the Munis and the Śrāvakas. The Munis are to preach religion and to see that the Śrāvakas follow the Jain practices of worship. The Śrāvakas have to support the Munis and follow their teaching in the practice of worship and prayer. The *Ratnakaraṇḍaka Śrāvakācāra* of Samantabhadra is a classic for Śrāvakas, which they have to read everyday and live up to the ideals presented in the book.

We have mentioned the influence of the Jain doctrine of Ahimsā on the people of Karnataka. But it should be noted that the Jainas have made distinction in the practice of Ahimsā by the Munis and the Śrāvakas. This is to preserve the social structure and also to enable Śrāvakas to function in society without losing the spiritual ideals of life. Jain ethics is meant for men of all positions, kings, warriors, traders, agriculturists, and, infact, for men in every walk of life. For instance ahimsā as Mahāvratā is to be practised by the Munis without exception. But Śrāvakas have to practise ahimsā to the greatest possible extent without interfering in their duties and functions in society as citizens. A soldier has to fight for the good of society, a judge has to pass judgements of hanging till death to a murderer. The king has to punish criminals. These are duties which must be performed for the good of society. These are permitted in the Jain ethics. Similarly a citizen, say an agriculturist, is aware that while tilling the land it is possible that there may be injury to life during the operation of tilling, but he has to till the land for the sake of society. This is permitted. It is arāmbahimsā. It is not a negation of the principle of ahimsā.

It is recognised as a duty of a kṣatriya to defend the weak even with arms. In the *Ādi-purāṇa* there is a description that Ṛṣabha, the first tīrthaṅkara, gave training to his subjects in agriculture, trade and in the use of arms.¹ Gandhiji exhorted the Indian women to resist the attack of the goondas and of the roadside Romeos even with violence. 'I do believe that where there is a choice between cowardice and violence I would advise violence. Hence it was that I took part in the Boer war, so called Zulu rebellion and the late war.'² But Gandhiji said that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence. Forgiveness adorns the soldier.

"Jainism has been largely responsible for making Karnatak, in the main, vegetarian; and Ahimsā still forms the substratum of Indian character as a whole. For hundreds of persecutions of the Jainas by

1. Caritrādhikāra. 53.

2. *Young India*: August. 11. 1920.: Doctrine of the Sword.

non Jainas we can hardly find a single instance where the reverse happened".¹ This spirit of toleration and to Syādvāda and anekānta.

Doctrine of Samlekhanā is an important contribution of the Jainas to social ethics. Samlekhanā is a step towards self-realisation. It is meant to free oneself from the bonds of the body and to reach perfection. It is to be adopted in two cases :—(1) in cases of emergencies and (2) as the end of a regular religious career. The two forms of Samlekhanā are equally applicable to the monks and laymen. As an emergency measure, we are to fast unto death only when we are faced with terrible famine, overpowered by foreign domination, at the time of spiritual² calamities when it would be impossible for us to live a pious life and to do the duties as a good citizen.³ The same should be practised when we are in the grip of an incurable disease and when we are too old to be able to live a normal righteous life. In these cases we have to depend on others. We become a burden to society without any possibility of reciprocating the good either for oneself or for others. Under such circumstances only should we decide to end this life by fasting unto death. If a monk falls ill and it is not possible for him to continue the practice of his vows and to lead the ascetic life, he should decide to take Samlekhanā.⁴ In the ascetics Samlekhanā forms a culmination of the religious culture.

The concept of Samlekhanā has played an important part in influencing the lives of the munis and śrāvakas in Karnatak. As mentioned earlier, Bhadrabāhusvāmin, along with Candragupta, the Maurya, took Samlekhanā at Śravaṇabelagola in the first century B.C. There are innumerable instances of monks and nuns as also the princes and the people taking Samlekhanā as the culmination of spiritual life. An inscription in Coorg records that one Jakkiyabbe who performed Sanyasana (death by starvation) which is considered by all Jainas as a path to Mukti did so "without hesitation deciding I will obtain Mukti".⁵

4. We have so far taken a brief survey of the influence of Jainism on the life of the people of Karnatak. We have also mentioned the influence of ideas and practices of other communities on the Jaina way of life. It is difficult to say whether there is a different culture called

1. *Jainism and Karnatak culture* by Sharma p. 150

2. *Ratnakaraṇḍaka Śrāvaka-cāra*, 123

3. *Bhāgavati Ārādhanā* 15

4. Jacobi (H): Death and the Disposal of the Dead "ERE. Vol. IV p. 484

5. Rice, op. cit., No. 31

Karnatak culture. Indian society breathes the same air of the secular and spiritual values of life. However, each area wears these ideas with a difference and each part of the country contributes its own special features to the Indian Weltanschauung. In this sense, we may say that Karnatak has a special contribution to make to the spirit of Indian life. Jainas have made a substantial contribution in moulding the life and thought of the people of Karnatak. Jaina view of life has permeated the spirit of Karnatak culture. Spirit of toleration and the spirit of ahimsā have entered the life of the princes and the people of Karnatak alike.

We may quote the Kuppatur inscription to bring out the influence of Jainism on the life of Karnatak. "Among the many beautiful countries it contained, an abode of the *Jina dharma*, a mine of good discipline, like the dwelling of Padmāsana (Brahma) having acquired great fame, the birth-place of learning and wealth, the home of unequalled splendid earnestness, thus distinguished in many ways was the lovely Karnatak country".¹

1. Kuppatur inscription (dated 1408 A.D.)

JAIN WRITERS AND THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL RAJASTHAN.

(1400-1800 A.D.)

Dr. G. N. Sharma

Of the sources of the political history of Rajasthan there is no end. Many works, both printed and hand-written, dealing with the lives of the kings and countries are available. But there is a paucity of the sources of histories which deal with history of organic or national growth. This draw-back in the writing of history can adequately be made good by the works of the Jain writers who, broadly speaking, deal with the life of man and woman in its varied aspects and his or her achievements in the fields of religion, society, art and literature. Such writings, in the form of manuscripts and printed publications, are available in various *Bhāṇḍāras*¹ and repositories of Rajasthan and Gujrat. These priceless treasures consist of *Rasas*, *Vats*, *Dhals*, *Dohas*, *Chopais*, *Kathas*, *Folk-stories*, *Vartas*, *Gīta* in Rajasthani and other *Kāvya*s and digests in Sanskrit and Rajasthani upto the 15th century. This kind of literature follows the method of being brief, so that the common people may feel its full effects of learning by heart or enjoying by seeing it staged.² Later on, with the passage of time it grew in size and contents. Then it was preached and interpreted by the saints and *Sādhus* of the Jain order so as to make it more impressive and effective.³

In so far as the social life and cultural progress of the vast majority of the people of Rajasthan is concerned, the Jain literature—in prose and poetry, therefore constitute, for the period under review, our basic source of study. It is both dull and tedious at the occasion of this magnitude to attempt an exhaustive analysis of these assets. I crave your indulgence to select a few of the type to highlight their importance.

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1. Amber *Bhāṇḍār*, Jaipur and Bhaṇḍārs at Jaisalmer, Bikaner, Jodhpur, Sadri, Ghanerao, etc.
 2. Compare references in *Social Life in Medieval Rajasthan*, G.N. Sharma, pp. 141-42.
 3. Compare *Kalpasūtra* painting of the 16th century, vide *Rajasthan Studies*, pp. 141-43.

Such, in the first place, is the *Nābhinandana Jinodhdhār Prabandha* by Kakkarsūri of the 14th century A.D. It consists of five chapters in Sanskrit verses and contains mainly the traditional account of the *Uddhār* ceremony of the temple of Śatruñjaya by Samar Singh, a Jain devotee of repute.¹ Accidentally the poet also records the accounts of Ukeshpur (Osian) and Kirātkūpa (Kiradu), the two important towns of religious and economic importance. The comments on the life of the court of Allauddin Khilji and the attitudes of the Turkish nobility are of special interest.² The picture of the Vaiśyas, as drawn by the writer, is that of incessant toil devoted to religious practices and act of piety.³ As regards the duties and functions of the *Sangas*⁴ our author takes a realistic view. The duties appear to be thoroughly in accord with the practice of the age.

Such is also the work entitled the *Hammir Mahākāvya* of Naya-chandra Sūri, composed in the 14th century A.D.⁶ It is a historical *Kāvya* of 14 cantos, dealing with the Chauhan ascendancy, particularly the heroic works of Hammir Deo of Ran'hambhor. Though it contains unnecessary and meaningless descriptions and digressions, the author cleverly introduces a series of descriptions of rainy season,⁷ Sati system,⁸ religious routine of the Raja⁹—all referable, as it were, to those chief subjects. It also contains a few brief notices of the Hindu views regarding hospitality to the guests, protection to those who sought asylum, feeling to the hungry etc.¹⁰ From the description of wars and arms it appears that his knowledge of traditional method of the Rajput warfare and his acquaintance with the improved method of Turkish military techniques is specific.¹¹ For the study of the military history of the 14th century the work may be placed in the first rank.

1. *Prastāva*, III, IV.

2. *Prastāva*, I, vv. 43-63, 343-356.

3. *Prastāva*, III, vv. 10-18, 273-317; 318-323.

4. *Prastāva*, I, vv. 32-37.

5. *Prastāva*, IV, vv. 1-19; *Prastāva*, V, vv. 1-23; 174-182, etc. Compare references from *Rajasthan Studies*, G.N. Sharma, p. 174.

6. Nothing is definite about the date of the work. On some indications of the author it appears that it was completed in or about 1400 A.D., vide *Hamirmahakavya*, p. 28.

7. The *Kavya*, Canto 60, vv. 49-62.

8. *Ibid.*, Canto 13, vv. 173-186.

9. *Ibid.*, Canto 9, vv. 52-90; Canto 13, vv. 39-47.

10. *Ibid.*, Canto 14, vv. 17-19.

11. *Ibid.* Canto 11, vv. 70-103

The next is the *Somsaubhāgyakāvya* of Somasūri. This celebrated work is devoted chiefly to the life history of Som Sunder, but it also contains references to the social and cultural aspects of the 15th century. Though it is in fact exceedingly poor in historical details, the period of which it treats is one of the most interesting in the history of Rajasthan—that of the glorious reign of Mahārāṇā Kumbha. It contains ten cantos in Sanskrit verses with rhapsodical and eloquent stuff, which is of little use except to show the author's powers of fancy and invention. From the canto 1st to 4th the author gives the details of the stages of Som Sunder's education. The practice of fixing auspicious hour for commencing his education by the astrologer, the aims of education, the subjects of his study, the last offerings to the teacher made by the pupil and his final initiations are important aspects covered by the poet.¹ The description of Devakulapataka (Delwada) as an important centre of Jain religion and trade is graphic. We are also told by the author that the market of the town was full of foreign clothes and there were merchants expert in business and commerce.² With regard to the wall-painting the author is specific.³ His writing is therefore very useful for the study of the growth of Mewar painting. At the end of the work the author bestows praise upon the teachers of Som Sunder. Hence in spite of the general meagreness of historical details, the *Kāvya* is contemporary to several items of common practice of education and town life of the 15th century.

There is Samaya Sunder the writer of several folk-tales in Rajasthan and Gujarati, belonging to the 16th century. From his own pen we learn that he was the son of Rupsi Porwari and Līlādevī of Sanchor.⁴ His religious Guru was Jinacandra Sūri, the famous Jain saint of high fame. He wrote his *Simhalsut* at Merta in V.S. 1672. At Jaisalmer he wrote the *Valkalchiri* in V.S. 1681. The *Champaksethkathā* was composed at Jalor in V.S. 1695. It appears that he was interested in explaining his compositions to his followers by travelling from place to place.⁵ These works may be described as a collection of fictions, stories and anecdotes, written in popular language, illustrative of the virtues, vices and calamities of mankind. They are more useful in understanding the prevailing opinions of contemporaries, through examples of common experience. The story of the sea-voyage recorded

1. Canto II, vv. 47; II, 57; IV., v. 55.

2. Canto VIII.

3. Canto V, v. 39.

4. Kusumāñjalī, vide Samayasunder Rasa Pañcaka, Introduction, p. 1. He was born about V.S. 1615.

5. *Samayasunder Rasa Pañcaka*, Introduction, pp. 2-4.

in *Simhalsut* appear to bring home the reality of social behaviour of the parties concerned.¹ Other stories are similarly devoted to the illustrations of some mental or intellectual quality expected of the 16th century society.²

Similarly, Hemratan, the writer of *Gorābādal* (V.S. 1645) belonging to the time of Rana Pratap and Jatmal, a Jain *Śhrāvaka* of Lahore and the writer of the *Gorābādal Chopai* (V.S. 1680) are graphic in their descriptions of a beggar, a soldier etc. They throw a flood of light on the medieval warfare and the heroes of their choice. They emphasize with all their force on an important aspect of 'Swami Dharma'—the need of the time. These works have their special place in resolving the problem of Padmini's historicity, which is beyond the purview of this paper.³

As regards the 17th century Jain literature the name of Upādhyāya Labhdodaya, a prolific writer, stands pre-eminent. He spent his major part of his life in Mewar and went round Udaipur, Gogunda and Dhuler time and again. He belongs to the school of the famous Gurus like Jinacandra Sūri, Jinamāṇikya Sūri and Guṇa Ratna and was the pupil of Gyāṅkushal. According to the *Malayasunder Chopai* his pupils were Ratna Sunder, Kushal Singh, Sāñwaldās, Khetsī, Jasa-harsha, Kalyāṇ Sāgar, etc. He composed his famous work *Padmini Chopai* in V.S. 1706-07. It consists of 49 Dhals and 816 Gathas in poetry. The work was written at the instance of Bhāgchand, the minister of the Rāṇā.⁴ It records the geneology of his patron and his successors. Though the work is mainly devoted to the story of Padmini, it is very useful for the study of the prosperous condition of Chitor and its lay out.⁵ Its value is chiefly attributable to the social condition and the institutions of the period at which it was written. The occasional references to the game of *Satranj*,⁶ slave girls, dowry,⁷ palanquins, court etiquette,⁸ importance of the Council of the Feudal order, dress and diet of the people etc.⁹ by no means include the whole series of social set up of the 17th century of Rajasthan.

1. *Sarvagāthā*, 196; *Abhaya Jain Granthavali*, No. 4318, 89.

2. *Sarvagāthā*, 215 etc.

3. *Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Patrikā*, Year 4th, No. 8.

4. *Padminīcharitra Chopai*, Introduction, pp. 19-39.

5. *Chitor Varṇana*, vv. 1-11.

6. *Kriḍā Vijaya*, vv. 1-5.

7. *Padminīvivāha*, v. 7, 12, 15, etc.

8. *Delhigaman*, vv. 1-5.

9. *Gorābādal gaman*, vv. 1-5, etc.

Khuman Raso of Dolat Vijaya may shortly be described as an annal of Mewar History, commencing from the early Guhilots to Raj Singh. It was composed between 1767 to 1790 V.S. The writer introduces himself as the pupil belonging to the order of Sumati Sadhu Sūri, Padmavijaya, Jayavijaya, Shāntivijaya etc. The contents of social history contained in the pages of this work are—the Parda system, Slave system, Sati system and the mode and manner of dress and diet of the people of status and position. He also registers the duties of the Kshatriyas emphasizing the spirit of sacrifice, boldness and piety as necessary requisites. The ideal of *Kshatravrat* is described at length by the writer in order to infuse a sense of duty in the warrior class. His information regarding the garrison of Chitor, collection of the implements of war in the fort and other preparations are authentic as far as the circumstances of 18th century were concerned.¹

The picture of the social and cultural position of Rajasthan which emerges from our survey of this sample material will help us to draw similar and other relevant facts from the vast and scattered Jain literature of importance.

1. *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, Year 44, No. 4; *Padminicharitra Chopai*, pp. 129-181.

JAINISM IN MITHILĀ AND ITS IMPACT ON MITHILĀ CULTURE

Dr. Upendra Thakur

As in the history of Buddhism, so in the history of Jainism, Mithilā or North Bihar played a very significant part for centuries. Few places in India have stronger claims upon the veneration of both Jainas and Buddhists. Mahāvira, the twenty-fourth Tirthaṅkara of the Jainas, and commonly spoken of as “the founder of the Jaina Church”, was a scion of the noble family of Vaiśālī where he was born and had spent the early part of his life. The tragedy, however, is that the Brāhmaṇical works and traditions ignore Vaiśālī, and we do not come across any remarkable event in the history of orthodox Hinduism which seems to be connected with the locality. In the 7th century A.D. when Yuan Chwang visited this place, this region abounded with Hindu temples, Buddhist monasteries, mostly dilapidated and deserted, and numerous Jaina establishments. The Nirgrantha monks are said to have still lived at Vaiśālī in large numbers. Neither has it become a place of pilgrimage to the Jainas in modern days, such as Pāvāpurī in the Patna district where Mahāvira died or Campā near Bhagalpur,¹ nor has anybody cared to look for Jaina antiquities here so far. The archaeologists have betrayed a colossal indifference towards searching for Jaina remains on this site. They have so far concentrated their efforts exclusively on tracing Buddhist remains and holy places as described in Buddhist works and in the accounts of travellers like Yuan Chwang and others. Their reports on the whole have nothing to support or confirm Basārhi area as being the birth-place of Jainism²—a fact which is no doubt evidenced by volumes of literary sources. In the following lines, we propose to discuss in detail the various literary and archaeological sources which have a strong bearing on the rise and spread of Jainism in Mithilā and its impact on Mithilā Culture.

I

The importance of Vaiśālī lies not only in its being the capital-seat of a strong and well-organised republic but also in its being a very great centre of the currents and cross-currents of various religious thoughts and philosophies. Vaiśālī, the ancient seat of the Licchavis

1. *ASIR*, 1903-04, p. 87.

2. V.A. Smith, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XIII, pp. 567-68 (New York, 1921).

and the erstwhile capital of the republican Videha,¹ first of all, emerges into history as the sacred birth-place of Vardhamāna Mahāvira, one of the great leaders of Jainism. He was born at Kuṇḍagrama, one of the three districts of Vaiśālī² and belonged to the Jñātrika clan.³ He, therefore, came to be known as *Veśālie* or *Vaiśālīka* meaning a native of Vaiśālī. or the first citizen of Vaiśālī.⁴ His father, Siddhārtha, was the Chief of the Naya clan (Jñātrika clan) whose wife Triśalā was sister of Cetaka, king of Vaiśālī. She is called Vaidehī, or Videhadattā, because she belonged to the ruling family of Videha, and hence Mahāvira is also known by various maternal names such as Videha, Vaidehadattā, Videhājātya and Videhasukumāra.⁵

From the above accounts it is clear that Mahāvira was an inhabitant of Vaiśālī (from his father side) and a citizen of Videha or Mithilā (from his mother's side).⁶ Mithilā or Videha, therefore, has a much greater claim on Mahāvira whose personality and teachings rapidly built up Vaiśālī as a centre of Jainism and of the spiritual discipline and asceti-

1. For a detailed geographical and historical account of ancient Mithilā, see the writer's book, *History of Mithila*, 2ff.
2. For other details about Vaiśālī, see *Ibid*, Chap. III.
3. Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo* (Bibliotheca Indica Series), pp. 3-6.
4. *Sūtra-Kṛtāṅga*, 1. 3.
5. *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, 389. Also see J.C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons*, pp. 254, 355.
6. For a detailed discussion of Mahāvira's birth-place, see Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, pt. ii, (SBE. Vol. XXII, Intro. X-XIII); *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VII, p. 466; Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, 3-6; Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, 21-22, 28; Smith in *JRAS*, 1902, pp. 282-83, 286-87; *CHI*. I. 157; Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, 62; *ASR*, vols. I & XVI; 1903-4, pp. 81-122; 1913-14, pp. 98-185; Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. I, p. 173; Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana, *Darśana-digdarśana* (Hindi), 492; B.C. Law, *Mahāvira: His life and Teachings*, 19 ff; C.J. Shah, *Jainism in North India*, 23-24; *Homage to Vaiśālī*, (ed. Mathur & Mishra), 4-5, 76-79, 85-90, 92-94 etc; *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvira* (in 5 vols) etc; H.L. Jain, "Contribution of Jainism to Indian Culture" in *JBRs*, Vol. XLV, p. 4.

In spite of volumes of evidences supporting Vaiśālī as the birthplace of Mahāvira, P.C. Roy Choudhury (*Jainism in Bihar*, 1, 13-14) seems inclined to identify Kuṇḍalapura in Vaiśālī or Videha with Kuṇḍalapura in Nālandā in Patna district—a view which has already been convincingly refuted by scholars as absurd and unwarranted.

cism upon which it was based. Besides Mahāvīra, Vasupūjya, the twelfth Tīrthaṅkara, is said to have attained nirvāṇa at Campāpura (Bhagalpur) and Neminātha, the twenty-first Tīrthaṅkara, was also born in Mithilā. Mahāvīra himself is said to have spent twelve rainy seasons in Vaiśālī and six rainy seasons in Mithilā.¹

It will thus be seen that Aṅga, Magadha, the territories of the Vṛjji-Licchavis, the Mallas and the kingdom of Kāśi-Kośala were the scenes of wanderings of Mahāvīra and activities of his Nirgrantha followers in the life-time of the Buddha. It is from the Buddhist texts that we learn that Mahāvīra and his immediate followers concentrated their religious activities in Rājagṛha, Nālandā, Veśālī (Vaiśālī), Pāvā and Sāvattthi. We further learn that in Vaiśālī, Mahāvīra had a large number of staunch, supporters and followers among the Licchavis and the Videhans.² Some of his followers appear to be men of the highest position. The *Vinaya Piṭaka*³ says that Siha or Sīmha, a Licchavi general (who was a follower of the religion of Mahāvīra) was afterwards converted to the Buddhist faith. Saccaka, a Nigaṇṭha, challenged the Buddha to a discussion on philosophical tenets before an assembly of five hundred Licchavis.⁴ We have thus numerous instances of such converts in Buddhist works,⁵ as clearly point to the great influence of Mahāvīra on the life of the people, high and low, in Vaiśālī and Videha, even during the life-time of the Buddha. Further, according to the Jainas, Mithilā or Videha was included in the Jaina Āryan countries. These countries were known as Āryan for it is said that the Tīthayaras, the Gakkavattis, the Baladevas and the Vāsudevas were born here. These great men are said to have attained omniscience in these countries and by attending to their preachings a number of people were enlightened and had taken to ascetic life.⁶

Vaiśālī thus appears to have achieved an early reputation in the religious world of India and her teachers, devoted to the practice of utmost penance and austerity, preached by Mahāvīra, the greatest apostle of this creed, had gained fame far and wide. It was the quest of a teacher that attracted the unknown Buddha, the Bodhisattva

1. *Kalpa-sūtra* (vide Law, *op. cit.*, p. 32 ff.)
2. Law, *Mahāvīra*, 7 ff.
3. *Vinaya Texts* (SBE. XVII), 108 ff.
4. *Majjhima-Nikāya*, 1. 227-37.
5. Cf. *Anguttara-Nikāya*, II, 190-94, 200-2; *Saṃyutta*, V, 389-90; *Anguttara*, III, 167-68; *Psalm of the Brethren*, 56, 106; *Psalm of the Sisters*, 23-24, 79-80, 120-21, 125; *Anguttara*, V, 133; *Majjhima*, III, 68-70.
6. J.C. Jain, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-51.

(after he renounced the world and became a monk) to Vaiśālī, then well-known for its abundance of teachers¹ and it was there that he found in Ālāra Kālāma, a native of Vaiśālī, his teacher² who is said to have been "so advanced in meditation that sitting on the road, he did not hear or see even 500 carts rattling past him."³ According to Mrs. Rhys Davids, the Buddha found his first two teachers—Ālāra and Uddaka at Vaśālī⁴ and under their teachings, even started his religious life as a Jaina.⁵ His resort to a course of rigid austerities associated with Jainism and adoption of a way of life of a good Jaina, like Mahāvīra, undoubtedly speaks of his Jaina beginnings on way to Nirvāṇa. This extreme of mortification, however, told dangerously upon his health, and under compulsion of circumstances he bade good-bye to Jainism and ultimately discovered the well-known *middle-path* (i. e., the path lying between the two extremes of self-torture and self-indulgence) for himself which soon became the dominating force of the new Order. These slender threads of evidences, when knit together, make it clear that Vaiśālī and Videha had been a very prominent centre of Jaina activities long before the rise and spread of Buddhism.

II

Scholars generally believe that Jainism like Buddhism was born of discontent and hatred against Brāhmaṇism. The fact, however, remains that the orthodox Brāhmaṇas in general were not so hostile to Jainism as they had been towards Buddhism throughout the centuries. Mahāvīra was the founder of Jainism as it exists today, but he had been preceded by several Jinās of whom Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkarū and immediate predecessor of Mahāvīra, may at least be said to have been a historical figure. In other words, Jainism was not a revolt in the strict sense of the term against the existing Brāhmaṇical hierarchy : on the other hand, the creed had already originated and spread though it received a great impetus with the advent of Mahāvīra on the scene. Mahāvīra's protest against caste-privileges no doubt provoked the opposition of the Brāhmaṇas who in turn criticised the Jaina religion and philosophy, but not so militantly and bitterly as they did Buddhism and its philosophy,⁶ for

1. R.K. Mookerji in *Homage to Vaiśālī*, 5.

2. *Mahāvastu*. II. 118.

3. *Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta*, IV. 35.

4. Quoted, R.K. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, 5.

5. For a detailed discussion of this aspect, see the writer's paper, "A Brief Survey of Buddhism and Buddhist Remains in Mithilā" in *JBRs*, Buddha Jayanti Special Issue, vol. II; H.L. Jain's paper, "Contribution of Jainism to Indian Culture" in *JBRs*, XLV, pp. 1-2.

the latter had adopted a much more aggressive missionary career than the former. Moreover, Mahāvīra did not criticise the authority of the Vedas so strongly as did the Buddha. As a matter of fact, he supported casteism in a way and recognized the status of the *Trivarga* i. e., the Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya.

The socio-religious condition of North India in the times of Mahāvīra and the Buddha was almost the same. The abuses begotten of the privileges of the caste-system and the monopoly held by the Brāhmaṇas in matters of religion were ultimately responsible for the growth of the deep-rooted institution of priesthood which was vehemently attacked and ruthlessly criticised even by the great Upaniṣadic seers and philosophers including Janaka and Yājñavalkya, the champions of the revolutionary reforms in Brāhmaṇism during the Upaniṣadic period.¹ The Brāhmaṇa priests committed excesses in the name of the Yajña-ceremony which gradually became more and more elaborate and involved. They went to such an extreme as to unscrupulously call themselves *Bhūdevas*, i.e. gods born on the earth.² This state of affairs was not destined to continue for long. The appearance of Mahāvīra and the Buddha on the socio-religious scene gave a rude setback to the Brāhmaṇical pretensions and violently shook the society out of its bottom. This anti-Brāhmaṇic revolution, whatever may have been its causes, was certainly an expression of the general ferment of thought fomented and inspired to a great extent by the Kṣatriya protest against the caste-exclusiveness of the Brāhmaṇas. This is further corroborated by the fact that "the pioneers of this new system probably drew their suggestions from the sacrificial creed and from the Upaniṣada and built their system independently by their own rational thinking."³

These social abuses indulged in by the Brāhmaṇas gave Mahāvīra a splendid chance to preach the Dharma of Pārśva after a slight modification. He taught man to look not beyond himself for hope and aid. His teachings proved so effective that even a section of the Brāhmaṇas are said to have recognised him as a great teacher.⁴ According to C.V. Vaidya, "intellectual Brāhmaṇas also joined the ranks of Jainas

1. We have elsewhere thoroughly dealt with this aspect (U. Thakur, *Studies in Jainism and Buddhism in Mithilā*, chap. II). Also see the writer's book, *History of Mithilā*, 94-97.
2. *Ibid.*
3. S.N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. I, p. 210. For other details also see Muni Ratnaprabhā Vijaya, *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, vol. I, pt. I, pp. 50-53.
4. *Kalpa-Sūtra (Sukhabodhikā-tīkā)*, pp. 112, 18.

as of Buddhists from time to time owing to conviction as well as for honour and contributed to the maintenance of the reputation of the Jains for learning".¹ But Jainism gradually spread among the poor and the lowly as it emerged as a strong protest against caste-privileges. In the eyes of Mahāvīra, the Brāhmaṇa and the Śūdra, the high and the low, were the same. He recognised the Brāhmaṇa not by birth but by proper action or qualification. Accordingly, even a low-born Cāṇḍāla, possessing requisite qualifications could enjoy the highest position in the society. Moreover, Jainism, like Brāhmaṇism, is also based on the same dogmas of the transmigration of soul and seeks for deliverance from the endless succession of re-births.² But, it does not agree with the Brāhmaṇic penances and abstinences to achieve it, while it aims at attaining, not union with the universal spirit, but Nirvāṇa, i.e., absolute release from all bodily forms and activities.³ This difference is, however, minor and, above all, it is distinguished by its relation as castes. Mahāvīra neither opposed them nor accepted everything it were. According to him, men are born in lower and higher castes, determined by their sins or good works in a former existence, but by a life of purity and love, by becoming a spiritual man, every one may attain at once the highest salvation. In accordance with this doctrine caste made no difference to him and he looked for a man even in the Cāṇḍāla.⁴

Miseries and sufferings of existence beset all alike: there is no escape from them. He, therefore, preached the law of grace for all caste-system, according to him, was just circumstantial and it is easy for a spiritual man to break the fetters of this system.⁵ The gift of supernatural vision was no monopoly of any order or caste or sex, and in this matter he made no distinction between men and men or between men and women.⁶ Further, the Jaina belief has been that a Jaina must always come from a Kṣatriya or some such noble family. In other words, though Mahāvīra did not support the age-old caste-system, he did not oppose it so vehemently as did the Buddha which provoked strong reaction from the Brāhmaṇas and culminated in a bitter wordy duel for centuries which was ultimately responsible for the growth and development of Indian logic and philosophy.

1. *HMI*. vol. III, p. 406.
2. *SBE*. XXII, 213.
3. Haribhadra, *Saṅgahārāṇa-samuccaya*, v. 52.
4. *Uttarādhyaṇa*, XIII. 1; *SBE*. XIV. 50.
5. C.J. Shah, *Jainism in North India*, 20.
6. Law, *Mahāvīra*, 44.

III

Coming to the philosophical disputations, we find that sometimes the Jaina and Brāhmanical philosophers have criticised each other, but this seems more by way of passing reference than deliberate attempt on the part of the philosophers belonging to two different schools. Mahāvīra encouraged his followers in the study of the Pūrvas and in developing their power of reasoning and arguing. From the Buddhist records we learn that there were some able and powerful disputants among the Nirgrantha recluses and lay-disciples.¹ The mediaeval logic was almost entirely in the hands of the Jainas and the Buddhists. For one thousand years, from 600 B.C. to 400 A.D., the Jainas and the Buddhists were fully occupied in questions of metaphysics and religion though there are occasional references to logic in their works of that period. "At about 400 A.D. began an epoch when they seriously took up the problems of logic, and all the text-books on the Jaina and the Buddhist systems of logic date at or after that time."² The scenes of activities of the Jaina logicians belonging to the Śvetāmbara sect were at Ujjainī (Mālwa) and Valabhī (Gujrat) whereas the Digambaras confined their activities to Pāṭaliputra and Drāviḍa including the Karṇāṭaka about the 8th century A.D. The *Nyāyavātara* by Siddhasena Divākara, dated c. 533 A.D., may be said to be the first systematic work on Jaina logic,³ although the real founders of the mediaeval logic were the Buddhists.⁴

Logical disputations among the Jainas and the Buddhists and the Hindus were the order of the day. But it was never so bitter between the Jainas and the Hindus, as it was between the Buddhists and the Hindus which we have discussed elsewhere.⁵ As a matter of fact, the Śramaṇa-Munis (the Jainas) and the Vedic-Rṣis "continued to flourish through the earlier ages of our history side by side, being more or less equally honoured by the people, in spite of the differences in their ideals and practices".⁶ It is true, a certain amount of rivalry

1. *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I, 227, 374-75.
2. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *Indian Logic: Mediaeval School*, Intro. XVIII.
3. *Ibid.* Intro. XIX.
4. For a detailed discussion, see the writer's paper "Buddhism in Mithilā" in *JBRS*, Buddha Jayantī Special Issue, vol. II; and *Studies in Jainism and Buddhism in Mithilā*, chaps. III-IV; Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *op. cit.* XIX-XXI.
5. Vide the writer's paper in *JBRS*, Buddha-Jayantī Special Issue, vol. II, referred to in the preceding pages and also *Buddhism and Jainism in Mithila*, Chaps III-IV.
6. H.L. Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

and intolerance developed between the two schools, "as their ideologies became more and more sharply marked, but in the public mind, both the Rṣis and the Munis remained objects of reverence, so that gradually the terms became synonymous and interchangeable" and the Śramaṇas themselves in course of time began to claim that they were really the true Brāhmaṇas.¹ Anyway, these disputations proved a great boon to the Hindu philosophy as they tremendously helped the growth and development of Indian logic.

IV

Though no Aśoka or Harṣa rose to champion the cause of Jainism with missionary zeal and vigour, we have nonetheless several instances of kings embracing the faith of the Jainas. The Jaina sources suggest that Pārśvanātha himself was the son of one Aśvasena, a king of Kāśī.² By virtue of his descent, Pārśva's influence in royal families must have been great and in no way less than during the days of his successor, Mahāvīra. The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* and other Jaina canonical works say that Pārśva had a large number of adherents in and about Magadha even in the days of Mahāvīra whose very family was attached to the religion of Pārśva.³ Mahāvīra had to face some of these adherents and win them over to his reformed church in sixth century B.C.

Like Pārśva, Mahāvīra also belonged to the ruling dynasties of the age. The sixteen Mahājanapadas included the eight confederate clans known as Aṭṭhakula of whom the Videhans, the Licchavis, the Jñātrikas and the Vajjis proper were most important. We have already shown above his relation with the Videhans as described in the Jaina sūtras.⁴ Besides blood-relationship, there are certain other indications in the Jaina canonical texts which definitely point to the Videhans taking great interest in the Jaina church. Nimi (or Nami or Nemi), the founder of the Janaka dynasty of Mithilā⁵ is represented in the Jaina Sūtras as having embraced Jainism. The *Uttarādhyaṇa-sūtra*⁶ says that "Nami humbled himself; enjoined by Śukra in person, the king of Videha (Mithilā) left the house and took upon him

1. *Ibid.* p. 2.

2. C.J. Shah, *op. cit.*, 82-83.

3. *Ibid.* 83-84.

4. Cf. the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, the *Kalpasūtra*, the *Uttarādhyaṇa-sūtra*, etc.

5. For other details regarding the Janaka Dynasty of Mithilā, see the writer's book, *History of Mithilā*, chap. II.

6. IX. 61; XVIII. 45 (*SEB.* XLV. pp. 41, 87); also see, Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, 147-69.

śramaṇahood".¹ Besides, we have already noted above that Mahāvīra had spent six rainy seasons in Mithilā. On the basis of these evidences, we can safely conclude that, if not all, at least a section among Videhas, were ardent followers of this faith.

Besides the Videhans, the Licchavis along with the Jñātrikas must have come directly under the influence of the teaching of Mahāvīra. The cases of Trīśalā, Siddhārtha, Cetaka, Cellaṇā and others, suggest that the Licchavis had a distinct sympathy and respect for the Jains. Furthermore, Cellaṇā, one of the seven daughters of king Cetaka, was married to Bimbisāra, with the result that both of them became ardent Jains.² And, the other six daughters of Cetaka married to different kings are also said to have been strong supporters and followers of Jainism.³

Campā, the capital of Aṅga (modern Bhagalpur, a part of Videha in ancient times) was yet another important centre of Jaina activities where Mahāvīra spent three rainy seasons and where Vasupūjya, the twelfth Tīrthaṅkara was born and died. There are signs of old and new Jaina temples of both the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara sects built for Vasupūjya and other Tīrthaṅkaras.⁴ From the *Uvāsagadasāo* and the *Antagaḍadasāo* we learn that there was a temple called Puṇṇabhadda (which we have dealt with in the following lines) at Campā in the time of Sudharman, one of the eleven disciples of Mahāvīra, who succeeded him as the head of the Jaina sect after his death.⁵ It is said that the town was visited by Sudharman, at the time of Kuṇika Ajātaśatru who went there bare-footed to see the Gaṇadhara outside the city which was again visited by Sudharman's successors.⁶

It may thus be rightly said that it was through the ruling dynasty of Vaiśālī or the Licchavis that Mahāvīra got solid support from all directions in his early days, and "it was through them that the religion

1. IX. 61.

This Nami or Naminātha has also been identified with Janaka or Mahā-Janaka II of the *Mahājanaka Jātaka* (J.C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons*, 372, fn. 5-6, p. 377). This view is controversial as the Buddhist texts also claim him to be a follower of Buddhism. For other view, see, Muni Ratnaprabhā Vijaya, *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, vol. I, pt. I. P. 40.

2. C.J. Shah, *op. cit.*, 88 ff.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, 44-45.

5. Hoernle, ii, p. 2.

6. C.J. Shah, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

of Mahāvīra had spread over Sauvīra, Aṅga, Vatsa, Avanti, Videha and Magadha, all of which were the powerful kingdoms of the time.”¹ The Buddhist works, therefore, do not mention Cetaka, though they have a lot to tell us about different aspects of Vaiśālī in general. Jacobi, therefore, rightly suggests that “the Buddhists took no notice of him as his influence... was used in the interest of their rivals. But the Jainas cherished the memory of the maternal uncle and patron of their prophet, to whose influence we must attribute the fact that Vaiśālī used to be a stronghold of Jainism while being looked upon by the Buddhists as a seminary of heresies and dissent.”²

The Jaina sources also tell us that like the Videhas and the Licchavis, the Mallas were also devotedly attached to Mahāvīra. The *Kalpasūtra* says that the nine Mallikas or Malla chiefs, like the Licchavis also observed fast and instituted an illumination to mark the passing away of the great Jina. From the *Antagaḍa-dasāo* we further learn that the Mallikas, along with the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Kṣatriyas, and the Licchavis, went to receive Ariṣṭhanemi or Ariṣṭanemi (the king of Videha?), the twenty-second T rthaṅkara when the latter had been to the city of Bāravai.³ And, this was also the case with the Gaṇarājās of Kāśī and Kośala.⁴ Bimbisāra, the Nandas, Candragupta Maurya, Samprati, Khāravela and other powerful rulers are also represented to have been associated with the Jaina church of Mahāvīra in the successive periods.⁵

During the time of the Guptas, a very important event connected with the Jaina history took place, as, it is said, the canonical and other literature of the Jainas was put down in writing during this period. On the basis of this account it can safely be concluded that the Jainas had by this time spread more or less all over India. Moreover, from the sixth century onwards, the inscriptions referring to the Jaina communities become very numerous. Yuan Chwang also records their spread in India and even outside. All these show that the Jainas remained an important religious community to be reckoned with in the Indian society during this period and after. It seems, however, that by the 13th and 14th centuries A.D., the influence of the Jainas and the Buddhists had practically become non-existent in North Bihar and the

1. *Ibid.* 99; Dey, *Notes on Ancient Aṅga*, 322; Bühler, *Indian Sect of Jainas*, 27.
2. *SBE*, Intro, XIII; C.J. Shah, pp. 99-108.
3. Barnett, *The Antagaḍa-dasāo and Aṇuttarovavāiṇya-dasāo*, p. 36.
4. For details, see C.J. Shah, pp. 108-111.
5. *Ibid.* 112-86, 204-16; also cf. *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, 1951-55, pp. 10-11.

adjoining regions, for we have no mention of the Jaina and the Buddhist followers in the account of Dharmasvāmī, the famous Buddhist traveller (13th cent. A.D.) from Tibet, who refers to Tirhut as a "non-Buddhist kingdom."¹

V

Apart from the literary evidences, we have also numerous remains of Jaina art and architecture scattered all over Northern India. As a matter of fact, "the Hindu art owes to them a great number of its most remarkable monuments. In the domain of architecture in particular they have reached a degree of perfection which leaves them almost without a rival."² Though Bihar in general is rich in Jaina antiquities, we have, however, a very few remains in North Bihar which do not help us much in presenting a connected history of Jaina art in this part of the country.

It is indeed a remarkable fact that the modern site of Vaiśālī is entirely devoid of any remains belonging to this religious order. According to Smith, in about 1892 A.D. "two statues of Jaina Tīrthāṅkaras, one seated, the other standing, were discovered about eight feet below the surface," 500 yards west of Baniyā.³ T. Bloch doubts its authenticity : "The only thing I could discover was that two images had been placed inside a mud-hut in the south-western corner of Chakramdas, from where they had been taken away more than ten years ago. Nobody could give me any impression as to what they represented, although the floor of the hut was still pointed out, and Mr. Garrick who refers to them (ASR. xvi. 91) tells us that he arrived late in the evening at the village when it was too dark to discern these statues"⁴

We have, however, several references to Jaina antiquities in Vaiśālī and its suburbs in the Jaina literature. The *Uvāsagadasāo*⁵ says that the Jīnātrikas possessed a Jaina temple outside their settlement at Kollāga, bearing the name of Dūpalāsa. *Ctiya* is the term used for Jaina temple which, according to Hoernle, means "properly the name of a Jaina temple or sacred shrine, but commonly applied to the whole sacred enclosure containing a garden, grove or park (*Ujjaāna, vana-saṇḍa* or *vāna-khaṇḍa*), a shrine and attendants' houses".⁶ This reli-

1. *Biography of Dharmasvāmīn* (ed. by G. Roerich), p. 60.

2. Guerinot, *La Religion Djaina*, p. 279.

3. *JRAS*, 1902, p. 282.

4. *ASIR*, 1903-04, p. 87.

5. Hoernle, i, p. 2.

6. *Ibid.* II. p. 2 fn. 4. For different interpretations of this term, see U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 43-55.

gious establishment might have been kept up for the accommodation of Mahāvīra on his periodical visits along with his disciples to Kuṇḍapura or Vaiśālī.¹

Like the Buddhist tradition, the Jaina traditions also refer to the practice of erecting stūpas over the ashes of the Jinas. One such stūpa existed at Vaiśālī dedicated to the Jina Muni-Suvrata,² and another at Mathurā dedicated to Supārśvanāth.³ Stūpa-worship in Jainism seems to have been a predominant feature. The *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, while referring to the above stūpa at Vaiśālī, gives the story of the 'Thubha' in illustrations of Pārīṇāmikī Buddhi. The *Āvaśyaka Nirvyukti*⁴ merely gives the catch-word, 'Thubha' "which shows that the author of the *Nirvyukti* knew of the stūpa of Muni-Suvrata at Vaiśālī."⁵ Moreover, recent excavations at Kauśāmbī and Vaiśālī have shown that the so-called northern black polished ware was available in different colours and sometimes painted also. Though we are not very certain about the centre of this technique or the place of its origin, it seems, however, quite probable that it was Magadha.⁶

According to some scholars, it would be a mistake to suppose that Cetiya in the Buddhist passages of the *Mahāparinibbāṇa-Sutta*⁷ and the *Dīgha-Nikāya*⁸ referred to funeral mounds or stūpas only of Udena, Sattambaka and others.⁹ The Bahuputtikā-cetiya in the *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta* may be said to be identical with the Caitya of the same name at Viśālā (Vaiśālī) and Mithilā referred to in the Jaina *Bhagavatī* and *Vipāka Sūtras*. This Bahuputtikā or Bahuputrikā caitya was dedicated to a goddess of a name who was a prototype of the later Buddhist Hārīti. "Some of these Buddhist cetiyas, were, therefore, similar to the Pūrṇabhadra caitya described in the *Aupapātika Sūtra*,"¹⁰ called *Yakṣa-āyatana* after the well-known ancient Yakṣas, Pūrṇabhadra and Manibhadra by Jaina commentators.

The description of this Pūrṇabhadra caitya, as given in the *Aupapātika Sūtra*,¹¹ supports more or less the interpretations advanced by

1. C.J. Shah, 106.
2. *Āvaśyaka-Cūrṇi* of Jinadāsa (c. 676 A.D.), pp. 223-27, 567.
3. U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 9.
4. *Infra*, fn. 4.
5. VV. 949-51; Haribhadra's *Vṛtti*, 437; *Āvaśyaka-Cūrṇi*, p. 567.
6. U.P. Shah, *op. cit.*, 62.
7. *Ibid*, 71.
8. Chap. III. Sections 36-37.
9. II. 113. Also see Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, App.
10. U.P. Shah, *op. cit.*, 55.
11. *Ibid*. 55.

Hoernle quoted above. It is said that this caitya was in the Udyāna or park, called Āmraśālavana, situated to the north-east of the city of Campā. It was very old in age (*cirātīta*), recognised by people of ancient (*porāṇa*), famous, praised everywhere, and *jñāta*.¹ It was decorated with an umbrella (or umbrellas), banners, bells, flags, *atipatākās* (flags surmounted on flags), whisks or brushes of peacock-feathers (*Lomapatthaga*) and having a railing (*vitardikāvedikā*). . . It was sprinkled all over with perfumed water, and garlands were hung; it was odorous with flowers of five colours, and with burning incense of *kālāguru*, *kundurukka* and *turukka*. . . It was haunted by actors, dancers, experts in mimics (*Viḍambaka*), balled-singers, . . . lute-players and minstrels. Many people visited the shrine which deserved praise, offerings, worship with sandal-paste etc., gifts, adoration and respect. . . It deserved a gift of a share from sacrifices. . . On all sides of it was a big forest-grove (*vanakhaṇḍa*) with a central big Aśoka tree (a *caitya-vrkṣa*) with a *prthvī-silā-paṭṭa* under it attached to its stem.²

Recently an image of Mahāvīra (in black basalt stone) of the Pāla period was discovered at Vaiśālī which is now kept in a modern temple situated to the west of Vaiśālī-garh near a tank. This image is now respectfully worshipped in the name of Jainendra by the Jainas who flock there from all over the country.³ We have reference to another Jaina image discovered in Vaiśālī in recent excavation.⁴ Moreover, innumerable clay-sealings and seal-impressions of more than 120 varieties, mostly of unbaked clay were found by Bloch, Spooner and others in course of excavations at the site. Jainism undoubtedly had a very great influence in the area during the period to which these relics belong. But no definite evidence of Jaina antiquities can be ascertained on the basis of these huge finds. Besides these, we have no information regarding any other Jaina antiquities discovered in the area in recent times.⁵ Jayamaṅgalāgarh (north Monghyr) is popularly

1. U.P. Shah (op. cit. 55) is inclined to believe that the term *jñāta* probably means "of the Jñātr people" of which Mahāvīra was a celebrated scion. The description tends to suggest that it was probably Dūpalāsa, built by the Jñātrikas, outside their settlement at Kollāga, referred to above.
2. For details see U.P. Shah, *op. cit.*, (sect. on *Caitya-vrkṣas*).
3. This information was given to me by my friend, Dr. B.S. Verma, Superintendent of Archaeology, Bhagalpur.
4. P.C. Raychoudhury, *Jainism in Bihar*, p. 99.
5. My friend, Sri Sachchidanand Sahay, M.A. formerly Lecture-Guide in the Patna Museum (now Lecturer Dept. of A.I.H. & Arch., Patna University) informs me that there is not a single piece of Jaina antiquity from North Bihar in the Patna Museum.

believed to have been an ancient seat of the Jainas,¹ though we have no definite corroborative evidence, literary or archaeological, to support or reject this traditional view. The Mauryan ruler, Samprati, is also held by tradition as a great patron of the Jainas and builder of numerous Jaina temples,² but unfortunately no remains are extant today.³

In the case of Bhagalpur district, the ancient Aṅga Deśa (some portions of which definitely formed parts of ancient Mithilā), we have a few Jaina antiquities. Mandāra Hill is supposed to be one of the sacred places of the Jainas. It was here that Vasu Pūjyanātha, the twelfth Tīrthāṅkara, attained nirvāṇa. The top of this hill is a great object of veneration for the Jaina community. The structure is said to have belonged to Śrāvakas or Jainas and one of the rooms still contains a *caraṇa*. A few other Jaina relics were also found on the top of the hill.⁴

Karṇagarh hill near Bhagalpur also contains numerous ancient Jaina relics. We have a reference to a Jaina vihāra to the north of the ancient fort. We have no doubt that if large-scale excavations are carried on the hitherto ignored but important sites in North Bihar, Jaina antiquities would be found in a large number.

Numerous sculptures common to most of the Digambara sites in Central India, Uttara Pradeśa and Bihar dating from c. 900-1200 A.D. have been found but of these we have none from North Bihar. Thousands of Jaina bronzes are lying scattered over Western India most of which are related to the miniature paintings of the Western School which flourished in the mediaeval period. Like Rajasthan, Bihar and Bengal had its own school of sculpture and painting known as the Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture with a slight difference in style among the Bengal and Bihar specimens. The Jaina zone of influence appears to have extended from the southern bank of the Gaṅgā to the western bank of the Bhāgīrathī right up to the northern frontier

1. For the antiquities, history etc., of Jayamaṅgālāgarh, see *G.D. College Bulletin Series*, Nos. 1-4.
2. *Bṛhat-kalpa-bhāṣya*, vol. III, *gāthās* 3285-89 ff., 917-21.
3. U.P. Shah, *op. cit.*, 6.
4. Beglar, *Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. III; Qureshi, *Ancient Monuments of Bihar & Orissa* (Section on Bhagalpur).

Mr. friend, Dr. Sitaram Rai, Excavation Director, State Archaeology, Bihar, informs me that during this year's excavations (1961) in Vaiśālī some Jaina antiquities were discovered. I regret, I could not get time to study them.

of the jungle country of the wild Gonds. All the Jaina images belong to the Digambara sect.¹

VI

Thus, from the above discussion it is clear that while the Buddhists disappeared from India in course of time, Jainism with all its schisms and divisions nevertheless remains a living force even now. The fact is that they kept open the doors of their church to lay representatives—a factor which contributed much to the stability of Jainism. Moreover, it adopted a less active missionary career than Buddhism and the followers preferred more secluded sites as their chief centres of worship. It was the result of this seclusion that the Jainas did not incur the terrible wrath of the Brāhmaṇas and as such resisted more successfully the stress of the Brāhmaṇical revival and Mohammedan persecution under which Buddhism in India ultimately collapsed. According to Tiele, “the toleration extended to them by the Brāhmaṇas even though they were regarded as heretics, led large numbers of Buddhists to take refuge in their community in the days of persecution”.² And, it was this Brāhmaṇic toleration, denied to the Buddhists, that saved the Jainas from perpetual persecution and harassment. As a result of this, Jainism, though confined to a small minority, is yet a living religious force, an article of faith with a section of the people all over the country.

1. For details see U.P. Shah, *op.cit.*, 24-35.

2. Quoted, C.J. Shah, *op. cit.*, 77. Also see H.L. Jain, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-13,

JAINA CASTES AND THEIR GOTRAS IN RAJASTHAN

Dr. Kailash Chand Jain

Most of the Jaina castes and their gotras found in the North have their origin in Rajasthan. There are many legendary accounts of their origin which tell us that they are of great antiquity. But, as a matter of fact, no names of these castes and their gotras before the seventh century A.D. are traceable. From the historical point of view, these castes and their gotras seem to have come into existence between the eighth and the thirteenth century A.D., the time of golden age for Jainism in Rajasthan. This period is very important because old castes and gotras disappeared, and their place was taken by the new ones whose origin is still not definitely known. During this period, there lived great influential Jaina saints like Harihbhadrasūri, Jinaballa-bhasūri and Hemacandrasuri who propagated the doctrine of *ahiṃsā* among the masses. Even the Jaina statesmen like Vimala and Vastu-pāla tried to spread Jainism. The merchants also spent countless wealth for its propagation. In this way, Jainism was accepted by a large number of masses who formed different castes.

Osavālas: Osavālas are found in all the important cities of India and they occupy a prominent position both in administrative and commercial spheres. Their origin is from the place named Osiā, 52 km north-west of Jodhpur. According to the *Nābhinandanoddhāra-prabandha* and the *Upakeśagachchhacharitra*, Ratnaprabhasūrī, the seventh *paṭṭadhara* in the line of Pārśvanātha established the *Osavālas* in *Vīra Nirvāṇa Samvat* 70 (457 B.C.). In the opinion of the bards (*Bhāṭas*), this caste was established by the teachings of Ratnaprabhasūri in 222 V.E. (165 A.D.). But both these views do not seem to be correct because there is no mention and trace of this caste before the eighth century A.D. Ratnaprabhasūri seems to have converted Uppaladeva and his subjects in the eighth century A.D. Both Ratnaprabhasūri and Uppaladeva are not known to history but it may be presumed that some Jaina saint might have converted the Prat'hāra ruler who was ruling in Osia to Jainism.

Gotras of the Osavālas: After the conversion, Osavālas continued to multiply and they formed eighteen gotras according to the traditions. But the process of the multiplication continued further particularly because they ceased to be a fighting race, and there was no mass

casualty due to any battle. It is believed that there are 1444 gotras of the Osavālas but these are not main gotras. Yati Śr̥pāla refers to the manuscript which mentions 609 gotras. The poet Rūpachanda of the eighteenth century A.D. in his *Osavālarāsa* mentions about 440 gotras.¹ Some are territorial, some are individualistic and others are occupational.

(a) *Territorial Gotras*: Some gotras were named after the places of their origin. Jinadattasūri gave *Vāsakshepa* to the two princes namely Śr̥dhara and Rājadhara of Rāvala Sāgara at Bhaṇasāla in Jaisalmer. The princes and after them their descendants and still further those who were closely or remotely related to them, all came to be called Bhaṇasāl's. And thus was established the Bhaṇasāl Gotra. Kāṇkariā gotra originated from Bhīmasī who lived in the village Kāṇkarā-Vaṭa.² He was the *sāmanta* of Mahārāṇā of Udaipur and was converted to Jainism by Jinavallabhasūri of the Kharatara Jachchha. The Kāchchholi gotra, the Korāṇṭa gotra, the Meḍatavāla gotra and the Pūgala gotra originated respectively from the places Kāchchhola (Sirohi District), Korāṇṭa (Jalor), Meḍatā and Pūgala. From the evidence of inscriptions, it is clear that these gotras started mostly between the 13th and the 15th centuries A.D.

(b) *Occupational Gotras*: Some gotras originated from the occupations of certain Jains. Rāṭhoḍa Rāva Chūṇḍā gave by treasury to Thākarasī. It is therefore the descendants of Thākarasī began to be called Koṭhārī. The Bhaṇḍarīs claim Daḍrāo as their great ancestor.³ In 992 A.D., he adopted Jainism from Yaśobhabhadrasūri of the Saṇḍeraka gachchha. Officially, Daḍrāo was designated as Bhaṇḍār or the person incharge of the store house; and consequently, his descendants became known as Bhaṇḍār's. It is said that the ancestor of the people of Vaidya gotra cured the disease of an eye of the queen of the Mahārāṇā of Udaipur. Therefore, he was given the title of Vaidya and his descendants became famous by Vaidya gotra.⁴ The Khajāncī gotra and the Mahājani gotra also originated from the professions.

Gotras after Personal Names: The names of the gotras were given after certain famous persons. The Ādityanāga gotra originated from the well-known person *Ādityanāga* who was very famous for

1. *Jaina Sampradāya Śikṣā*, p. 656
2. *Jaina Bhāratī*, Vol. XI, No. 11.
3. *NJI*, III, p. 28.
4. *History of Osavālas*, p. 353
5. Some distinguished Jains, p. 36
6. *History of Osavālas*, p. 166.

liberal charities and solicitude for social welfare.¹ Lālāṇī gotra became famous from Lālasimha Pamvāra, a Śrāvaka of Jinavallabhasūri.² Lūṇiyā gotra was named after Lūṇasimha who accepted Jainism from Jinadattasūri, Dugaḍa and Sugaḍa, the two brothers, accepted Jainism from Jinacandrasūri³ and their descendants formed gotras after their names. The Botharā gotra was named after Bohitha, the son of the king named Sāgara of Delavāḍā.⁴

(d) *Kulas converted into Gotras*: Some kulas also in course of time were converted into gotras. The ancient Kaśyapakula in course of time was converted into Kaśyapa gotra. In the 13th century A.D. Śravaṇa, the son of Karaṇa Simha, accepted Jainism from Yaśobhadrasūri.⁵ His descendants also followed Jainism and became known by Sisodiyā gotra.

(e) *Gotras formed after Actions*: The people, who went on pilgrimage, were given the title of Sanghavī. A person named Kākū was given the title of Nagara seṭha.⁶ His descendants therefore began to be called seṭhiyā. Those who did not move from battlefields were called Nāhaṭā. The Baraḍiyā gotra, the pārakha, the Kaṭāriyā gotra etc. became well-known after actions of the people.

Śrīmālīs: The Śrīmālīs among the Jainas originated from Śrīmāla now known as Bhinmāl in Jalor District in the seventh or eighth century A.D. In course of time, they multiplied and migrated to different places. There is a stanza in the *Praśasti* of *Kālakācāryakathā*⁷ of 1308 A.D. which tells that Śrāvaka Dīḍā of Śrīmāla caste after listening to the religious discourses from Śāntisūri constructed the *chaitya* of Ādinātha in 647 A.D. at Navahara. The oldest genealogy of the Śrīmāla caste says that a merchant Toḍā of Bhāradvāja gotra and of Śrīmāla caste was addressed by a Jaina saint in 738 A.D.⁸ From the *Pañcapaṭarāsa* written by the poet Udayaratna, it is known that in 700 Śakaera, Ratnaprabhasūri came to this town where he established the Śrīmāla caste.⁹ From all these instances, it is clear that the Śrīmālīs

1. *Bhagavān Pārśvanātha kī paramparā kā Itihāsa*, p. 1109.
2. *Jaina Sampradāya Śikṣā*, p. 626.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 638.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 639, 640, and 641.
5. *History of Osavāla*, p. 393.
6. *Jaina Sampradāya Śikṣā*, p. 634.
7. *Jaina Pustaka Praśasti*, No. 35.
8. *Jaina Sāhitya Samśodhaka Evam Jainācārya Ātmārāma Śatābdī Smāraka Grantha*, Gujarati Vibhāga, p. 204.
9. *Prāgvāṭa Itihāsa*—Introduction p. 12.

among the Jainas came into existence in the seventh or eighth century A.D.

In course of time, Śrīmāl̥s were divided into two classes, namely, Laghu Śākhā and Bṛhadśākhā. Besides there are various gotras found among the Śrīmāl̥s as known to us from the inscription. These are based on occupations, place names and other grounds. The main gotras are as follows—Ambikā gotra, Ailahara gotra, Govaliyā gotra, Ghevariya gotra, Gāndhika gotra, Gautama gotra and Caṇḍalechā gotra.

Poravālas: It is said that the Poravālas originated simultaneously with the Śrīmāl̥s from the twon of Śrīmāla in the eighth century A.D. The people of the eastern gate of Śrīmāla, who accepted Jainism from the Jaina saints in the eighth century A.D., were called the Poravālas.² In old inscriptions and manuscripts, Prāgvāṭa has been used for the Poravāla.³ Prāgvāṭa was another name of Mewar (Medapāṭa). It seems that the people of Prāgvāṭa country in course of time began to be called Prāgvāṭas or Poravālas. The Poravālas tell their origin from the village Pura in Mewar. Like the Śrīmāl̥s, the Poravālas were also divided into Laghu Śākhā and Bṛhad Śākhā. The main gotras of the Poravāla caste as known from the inscriptions and manuscripts are as follows:—Jhūlara, Muṇṭhaliyā, L̥mbā, Maṇḍaliyā, Kunagirā, Paṭela Narvaṭa, Lolāniya, Poṣaā, Koṭhār̥, Bhāṇḍār̥, Ambḁ̄, Koḍakī and Nāga.

Pallivāla Caste: The Pallivālas both among the Digambaras and the Śvetambaras seem to have been named after Pālī, the name of which in olden times was Pallikā. It is said that the people of this place were converted to Jainism in about the eighth century A.D. by Ratnaprabhasūri who converted the people of Osiā and Śrīmāla.

Khaṇḍelavāla Caste: The Khaṇḍelavālas originated from the place named Khaṇḍelā in Sikhar District but there is some difficulty in assigning the date. According to the legendary account, Jinasenācārya in the line of saint Aparājita converted the Chauhāna king of Khaṇḍelā with his subjects to Jainism in V.S.1.⁴ Eighty two Rājapūtas and two goldsmiths were ruling over eighty four villages of the kingdom of Khaṇḍelā. The eighty four gotras were formed either after the name of the villages or heads of villages. The gotras of the two goldsmiths became Āmnāya Baja and Mohanāya Baja. The time

1. *Śrī Jaina Gotra Saṁgraha*, pp. 13-23.
2. *Ojha Nibandha Saṁgraha*, p. 25.
3. Manuscript in the Śāstra Bhaṇḍāra at Ajmer.

assigned to this incident is not correct because there are no solid grounds for the existence of this caste before the eighth century A.D.

The number of eighty four gotras seems to be only conventional. Originally, these gotras may be less in number, but gradually they increased. Some gotras such as Ajmerā after Ajmer, Pāṭodī after Pāṭodā, Kāsal vāla after Kāsalī and Pāṭanī gotra after Pāṭana are regional in nature. The gotras like veda, Sonī and Boharā were named after occupations. Some titles and surnames such as Sāha, Sābaḍā, Sethī, Baḍajātyā seem to have developed into the Gotras. From the inscriptions and praśastis, the other known gotras are Tholyā, Pahāḍyā, Bilālā, Gaṅgavāla, Godikā, Pāṇḍyā, Rāṇivakā and Sogānī.

Bagheravāla Caste: Bagheravāla caste originated in about eighth century A.D. from Bagherā, a place of great antiquity. Old Jaina temples and images were discovered and its name is also found in the Bijaulia Rock Inscription dated 1169 A.D.¹ This place was also the seat of the Bhaṭṭārakas in the twelfth century A.D. There is a belief that Rāmasena and Nemasena, the Digambara Jaina saints, converted the king of this town with his subjects to Jainism.² If not all, majority of the citizens of the town must have embraced Jainism from him. The gotras of this caste as known both from the inscriptions and Praśastis are as follows (1) Rāyabhaṇḍrī, (2) Sāṅkhavāla, (3) Sānāpati (4) Tholā (5) Koṭva (6) Prabhā and (7) Siravāḍyā.

Agravāla Caste: The Agravālas are found in large number in Rajasthan and they occupy respectable position in the society. They are found both among the Jains and the Hindus. They enthusiastically supported Jainism in the past. According to the traditions, Agravāla caste originated from the place named Agrohā in the Punjab and was founded by Agrasena. Once he performed a sacrifice but stopped it when he saw the animals in a miserable condition. Probably, he was influenced by the doctrine of ahimsā. It is not clear whether he accepted Jainism or not, but from the Pāṭṭāvalī,³ it is known that Lohityāchārya converted the Agravālas with their king Divākara to Jainism. This incident seems to have taken place in about the eighth century A.D. Later on, Agravālas began to follow Jainism. Its gotras as known both from inscriptions and the Praśastis are as follows—Goyala, Garga, Siṅghala and Bansala.

Narasimhapurā and Jaisavāla Castes: Narasimhapurā and Jaisvāla castes among the Digambaras started from the places like

1. Epigraphia India, XXIV, p. 84
2. Manuscript in the Śāstrabhaṇḍāra of Ajmer.
3. *Śrī Bhagavān Pārśvanātha kī Paramparā Kā Itihāsa*, p. 850.

Narasimhapurā in Mewar and Jaisalmer respectively in medieval times. The Digambara Jaina saints went to these places for the propagation of Jainism which was adopted by the people. They formed castes which were named after their respective places.

Chittoḍā and Nāgadā Castes: Chittoḍā and Nāgadā castes among the Digambaras originated from the old places Chitor and Nāgadā respectively in Mewar. These castes seem to have come into existence in medieval times. People of these castes were religious minded and got several copies of manuscripts written in the medieval times in order to present them to Jaina monks. They constructed temples and placed images in them with great ceremony. They were generally concerned with the Bhaṭṭārakas of the Mūla Saṃgha of Vāgaḍa and Kāshṭhā Saṃgha.

Humbaḍa Caste: The place of the origin of the Humbaḍa caste is not traceable and must probably, like other castes, it must have originated in about the eighth century A.D. in Rajasthan. In Rajasthan, it is found both among the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras in Dūngarpur, Banswara and Pratapgarh, the portion of ancient Vāgaḍa Province. In the Digambaras, they remained in close touch with the Bhaṭṭārakas of the Kāshṭhā Saṃgha. The famous Jaina temple at Jhālrapātan is said to have been built by Sāha P pā of this caste in the tenth century A.D.¹

Humbaḍa Caste in course of time was divided into Śākhās and Gotras. The three Śākhās of this caste known to us are namely Laghu śākhā, Bṛhat śākhā and Varshāvata śākhā. There are eighteen gotras of this caste such as Kheraju, Kamalesvara, Uttaresvara and Bhīmeśvara.

Dharkaṭa Vaniśa: The people of Dharkaṭa caste are found both among the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras. The author of *Dhammaparikkhā* named Hariśeṇa of this caste lived in the tenth century A.D. In the beginning, this caste seems to have originated in Rajasthan but now its people are found in the South. From the expression, *Siriujapuriya Thakkaḍakula* of Hariśeṇa, Nathu Ram Premi holds that it originated probably from Siroja in Tonk District.² AGAR Chand Nahata observes that that it originated from Dhakaḍagaḍha from which also originated the Dhakaḍa branch of the Maheśvarī Caste.³ On the evidence of the two *prastastis*, he tries to locate this place near Śrīmāla.⁴

1. *Anekānta*, XIII, P. 124

2. *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, p. 468

3. *Anekānta*, Vol. IV, p. 610

4. *Jaina Pustaka Praśasti Saṃgraha*, Nos. 52 & 93.

Śrīmoḍha Caste: The Śrīmoḍha *baniās* are numerous even today. There are also numerous Brāhmaṇas who call themselves after the same place Śrīmoḍha. The name of both is derived from the ancient town Modherā, south of Aṇahilavād. The famous Hema Candra Sūri was also born in this caste. The inscriptions of the people of this caste can be traced from the twelfth century A.D.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE TRADE AND SHIPPING IN PRĀKRIT LITERATURE.

Dr. P.S. Jain

The sources of information regarding trade and commerce in Ancient India are given to us through literature. Apart from Sanskrit story literature the Jaina and the Buddhist stories present before us many new facts in regard to the local and foreign Trade of Ancient India. Among all these literary sources Prākrit narrative literature abounds in commercial facts, in as much as this literature belongs to that religion which has many businessmen as its followers and it is written by such saints as who were moving from place to place; and consequently they can acquaint themselves with the economic, social and cultural trends of each country in which they stay for their Chatur-māsa. Thus Prākrit literature can be of great help in knowing about ancient Indian trade and shipping.

In spite of the fact that Dr. J.C. Jain has given us much material regarding trade and commerce from Jain Āgamas and their commentaries,¹ like the Nāyādhamakahā, the Brhatakalpa-Bhāṣya and the Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi, some scholars who presented the studies of Ancient Indian Trade and commerce did not seem to make any use of this rich material.² But there are some scholars like Dr. Motichandra,³ Prof. K.D. Bajpai⁴ and Dr. Lallanji Gopal⁵ who have not only accepted the importance of this material but also have referred to the Prākrit texts in their writings.

In the present paper I propose to deal with the facts regarding trade and shipping from some of the Prākrit texts like the Samarāicca-kahā, the Kuvalayamālākahā, the Bhavisayattakahā etc. under the following heads: (1) Means of Earning. (2) Local Trade (3) Exports and imports and (4) Terms used for trade and shipping.

1. See Jain, J.C. Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain canons. pp. 87-134
2. Mookerji, R.K., History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity (1912); Maity, S.K. Economic life of Northern India in the Gupta period, etc.
3. Motichandra, Sārthavāha, pp. 169-170.
4. Bajpai, K.D., Prācīnā Bhāratiya Vyāpāra kā Itihāsa.
5. Gopal, Economic life of northern India. pp. 92-97

1. *Means of Earning:*

In the ancient India though the chief source of earning money was the buying and selling of goods, yet many other ways, right or wrong, were employed to earn it. Some of these means which yielded good and quick returns were ignoble; others, which were considered noble, yielded limited returns. Uddyotanasūri has mentioned both of these means in his Kuvalayamālakahā. When Māyāditya and Sthānu thought of earning money, the question was how to earn it. Without money Dharma and Karma can not be achieved. Then Māyāditya suggested, : "Friend, if it is so, let us move on to Vārāṇasī. There we shall gamble, break into the houses, snatch the ear-rings, loot the passengers, pick the pockets, indulge in jugglery, and cheat the people. In other words we would do every thing by which we can earn money."¹

Sthānu was sorry to hear all this. He regarded these means as ignoble since they were against gentlemanliness. Besides, earning money by selling creatures and animals was also considered to be ignoble by Uddyotana. The above means of earning money were prohibited by other Jaina writers also on account of their following the principle of Ahimsā. As for example in the Dharma bindu² and the Upamati-bhavaprapaṇca-kathā,³ the use of these means is prohibited.

The Kuv. has described the following noble means of earning money⁴ :—

- (i) Going from one place to another (Disigamanam),
- (ii) Having partners (Hoe mittakaranam),
- (iii) Pleasing the king (Naravara-Sēvā),
- (iv) Skill in weight and measures (Kusalattaṇam ca Mānappamā-
nēsu),
- (v) Alchemy (Dhāuvvāo),
- (vi) Use of Mantras (Mantam),
- (vii) Worship of the deities (Dēvāyārāhanam),
- (viii) Agriculture (Kēsim),
- (ix) Sea-Voyage (Sāyar-Taṇam),
- (x) Digging up of the Rohanparvat (Rohanammi khannam)

1. Savvha tahātahā Kuṇimo jahājahā Attha sampatti hohie, Kuv. 57. 16-17.
2. See D. Sharma, Rajasthan through the Ages.
3. Siddharṣi-Upamati-bhavaprapaṇcakathā, P. 860.
4. Jain, P.S., A. Cultural study of Kuvalayamālakahā, in IV Chapter (thesis).

- (xi) Trade (Vānijjam),
- (xii) Service of different kinds (Nānāviham ca Kammaṃ)
- (xiii) Mastery over Vidyas and
- (xiv) Various kinds of skills (Vijjā Sippāim nēyaruvāim).

Out of these I shall deal only with those which appear to me to need clarification.

(i) *Disigamanam*:

There are many references to Disigamanam in Jain canonical and other Prākṛit Texts.¹ But the Kuv. speaks of the assembly of merchants of eighteen countries at one place in the context of disigamanam, which in a way is an advancement of the earlier tradition of trade.

To go to other countries for business was considered profitable from many points of view. First, a man could carry on business wholeheartedly and fearlessly if he lives away from the cares and worries of the home. Secondly, one could attract the people there by his way of living and thirdly, a man could earn a lot by selling the home-made goods at other places at fancy prices and buying the goods of those places at cheap prices and selling them in his own country at high prices. Fourthly, a man gathers a lot of experience of inter state trade guilds. Lastly, young merchants get an opportunity to earn money by their own efforts for which they always remain eager.²

(ii) *Partnership*:

The partnership was one of the common practices in the business field in Ancient India.³ The Samarāiccakahā, the Bṛhat-Kathākośa, and other Prākṛit texts have referred to it many times. For instance, in the Kuv. Māyāditya and Sthāṇu went out together as partners and they earned a lot of money (57-28). Dhandēo and Bhadra-Śrēṣṭhin were also partners (66-33). Sāgarūdatta had carried on business in a foreign country by entering into partnership with a merchant there (105-23). In this way to do business in Partnership has many advantages, First, one does not feel any danger in the journey. Secondly, if there is loss, it is shared. Thirdly, one can get advantage out of mutual common sense and business skill.

10. Ācāraṅga cūrṇi P. 472; Bṛhatkalpa-Bhāṣya p. 1, 2506 Vasudeva-hindi, p. 144-54 etc.

11. Tāya Annaṃ Apuvvaṃ Atthaṃ, Ahārāmi bāhubaleṇa, Kuv. 65-10

12. See, Jātaka, 1-404, 2-30; 3-126 etc., Samarāiccakahā Vibhava, Dr. Raya, Prācina Bhārata mēṇ Nagar tathā nagarajivana p. 323.

Though partnership has its advantage, yet sometimes it is also disadvantageous. If the partner is not honest one has to bear the loss. It may be that out of greed the dishonest partner may push the other one into the deep sea, so that he may not have to give his share to him and may get the whole of it himself. There are many references to such dishonest partners in Prākṛit texts¹ and other Indian literature.²

(iii) *Pleasing the King:*

The Prākṛit texts have emphasized that pleasing the king is absolutely necessary everywhere for earning money. Whenever any merchant reached the state of a king with his caravan, he waited on the king with valuable presents and sought permission to do business in his territory.³ For instance, in the Kuv. as soon as Dhanadeva landed in Ratnadvīpa he took the presents, met the king and offered him the presents in order to please him.⁴ It is also stated in this text that after taking other goods from that place in exchange and before leaving that place the foreign merchant makes some charitable gifts to the local religious teachers and establishments (dinnaṃ dānaṃ 67.1-3). All the businessmen were not honest to the above extent with the consequence that they carried the ship with smuggled goods by changing the lawful route.⁵

(iv) *Sea Voyage:*

Foreign Trade was considered as one of the very important means of earning money. For foreign trade one had to go beyond the seas because sea-voyage was particularly profitable owing to the fact that goods of one's own country could be sold in other countries at high rates and gold could be brought from beyond the seas into one's own country. In the Samarāiccakahā⁶ and the Kuv. there are many references to sea-voyage from which we can gather that though one could earn handsome profit by going across the seas, one also had to face many difficulties to the extent of risking one's life.⁷ There were

1. Samarāiccakahā, p. 510.
2. Avasthi, A.B.L., Studies in Skanda Purāṇa, Part I., p. 113.
3. Nāyādharmakahā, pp. 8-75.
4. Uttiṇo Vaniyā gahiyam damsaniyam dittho rāyā kao pasāo tti, Kuv. 67-12.
5. See, Meyer—Hindu Tales. p. 216-17 and Rayapaseṇiyasutta-50.
6. Samarāiccakahā p. 398, 510 etc. See Narmadāsundarī-kahā and Sirivālakahā also.
7. Duttaro Jalahi Sumdaram vānijjam jassa jiviyam nā bhallaham—Kuv. 67-79.

some merchants who took to sea-voyage simply for the sake of merry-making.¹

Though the Nāyādhammakahā and the Samarāiccakahā give beautiful descriptions of sea-voyage,² yet the details of preparation for sea-voyage are given to us by Uddyotanasūri in the Kuv. The story of Dhanadeva refers to the following items relating to preparatory ritual and the equipment of the ship.

(i) arrangement of boats or ships (Nāṇavattāim), (ii) loading of merchandise (Bhaṇḍāim), (iii) bringing together other sailors (Nijjāmayā), (iv) calculation of the duration of the journey to and from (Gaṇijjaē diyaham) (v) fixation of the date and time of departure (laggam) (vi) observation of portends whether favourable or vice versa (nirūvijjaṇti nimittāim) (vii) making announcements about the journey (Kīraṇti avasūio), (viii) prayers to proper deities (Sumarijjaṇti Ittha-dēvae) (ix) feeding the Brāhmaṇas (bhumja-vijjaṇti bambhaṇē) (x) paying respects to select persons (pujjaṇti vishiṭṭhayaṇē), (xi) worshipping of deities (accijjaṇti dēvaē), (xii) arrangement of sails (āsijjij aṇti sēyavadē), (xiii) rasing of the mast (ubbhijjaṇti kūvakhambhaē), (xiv) fitting the furniture for sitting and sleeping (Sayaṇē) (xv) collecting loads of timber for plank and fuel (Kaṭṭha Samceē) and (xvi) filling the containers with fresh sweet water (Jala bhāyaṇē).

When the ship was to take off, auspicious musical instruments were sounded, conch-shells were blown, auspicious songs were sung, Brāhmaṇas muttered the Āśiṣa and thus with the sound of invocation and Jaya-jaya the ship took off its voyage, the sails were unfurled the ropes and riggings were pulled up, the oars began to be operated, the helmsman took observations. The ship fell into its course, when favourable winds began to blow, thus the ship started its journey.³ These detailed preparations of sea-voyage indicate how the people in those times were oriented to details in systematically doing certain things.

2. Local Trade:

Local trade means purchase and sale of goods manufactured at a particular place. Two main centres of local trade are mentioned in

1. Vahanaē vahaṇti jalahasa soudi duttari Atthahimsamuddi lamghamatae divantara thalai pekkhaṇti vivihakouhate. Bhavisayattakalia 53. 3-4
2. Nāyādhammakahā p. 8-75 See also Sārthavāha. p. 167.
3. Upadhye, A.N. Kuvalayamālākahā, Introduction p. 119.

Prākṛit texts.¹ They are Vipañimārga and Paithāṣṭhāna. In Vipañimārga (Loalmarket) retail goods of daily use were sold while in the commercial markets wholesale transactions took place between traders of various States. In the Kuv. both these types of local trade have been mentioned and detailed accounts of their transactions are given by the author.

From the detailed description of Vipañimārga in the text it is clear that in the local market there were shops having all commodities of everyday use. Uddyotana states that whatever is heard, seen and thought of in the mind on this earth was available in the markets of Vinitā.² This indicates the prosperity of Vipañimārga of Ayodhyā. The cosmetic stores (7-27), fruit shops, gold and ornament bazars (7-28), cloth shops (7-28), weapons shops (8-20), medical stores (8-3), hotels and restaurants (8-4), wine and meat shops (8-5) etc. were some of the varieties that were to be found in a local market of those times.³

The other kinds of centres of local trade were big markets which attracted the traders from all parts of the country. These markets were called paithāṣṭhāna in public. In Paithāṣṭhānas traders enjoyed all kinds of facilities. We know from the Prākṛit texts that the trade carried on in Vipañimārga was not sufficient for big merchants of the city and their enterprising sons. So they resorted to Paithāṣṭhāna to increase their trade and wealth by their business skills. Their choice of commercial markets was a test of their intelligence business qualities and capacity of the traders' sons. Besides these commercial centres were fruitful in strengthening the bonds of cultural relations among the merchants of various States.

The Nāyādhammakahā describes the sea-faring merchants of Campā, who loaded their waggons with various goods and proceeded to deep harbour. In course of time they arrived at the port of Mithilā and entered the city for trade.⁴ Then the Āvaśyakaūrṇi gives an account of the merchant Dhanna who journeyed with five hundred waggons loaded with various commodities.⁵ According to the Kuv. Māyāditya and Sthāṇu had set out for the well-known Pratiṣṭhāna Mandi in the south with full preparations (57-21).

1. See. Jain G.C., Life in Ancient India, pp. 113-15.
2. Jam Puaie sunijjae disae jam cintiyaṃ ca hiyaena
Taṃ Savvam ciya labbhae Maggijjamtaṃ vivanimagge. Kuv. 8.7.
3. Please compare—Kathākoṣa prakaraṇa of Jineswar, p. 85 & 165.
4. Naya. 8 p. 97 ff.
5. Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi, p. 272.

There are some references in Prākṛit texts about the difficulties in those days in the way of traders. The conditions of the roads, do not appear to have been satisfactory. They lay through forests and deserts and were beset with many dangers such as excessive rainfall, the fear of robbers, obstruction by rogues, famine and poisonous trees.¹ In view of these difficulties in those days, traders used to travel in Cāravāṇ. A graphic description of the cāravāṇ is given in many Prakrit Texts.²

3. *Exports and Imports:*

There is a special mention in the Kuv. of the trader's son of Takshashilā having undertaken a journey to the Sopārak Mandi of the south. It is known from the description given in the story of Dhanadev³ that it was the custom in Sopāraka Mandi to hold a reception of merchants from outside and to learn from them the country of their origin—the destinations, fields of trades, the nature, value and volume of commodity in which he is interested and all such matters relating to his business. Dhandēva, with his host, Bhadraprēṣṭhin, also attended a reception there and were offered perfume, betel and garland. On that occasion the traders, assembled there, joined a conversation as to the countries or regions they visited, goods they bought and sold and profits they made. This is how the talk proceeded:

“One said, I took horses and went to Kośala, the king of Kośala gave me good young ones of elephants in exchange for my Bāhila horses, so with your good wishes, I made profit and came back.” Another said, “I took areca nuts and went to the North, there I made profit and returned with horses.” Another said, “I took pearls and went to the Eastern country and brought from there fly whisks (camara)”. Another said “I went to Bārvāi and brought conches from there.” Another said, “I took fabrics and went to Babbaraula and returned from there with ivory and pearls.” Another said, “I took the flowers of Palāśa tree (*Butea frondosa*) and went to Suvarṇadvīpa and returned from there with gold.”³ Another said, “I took buffaloes and wild buffaloes and went to Cīna and Mahācīna and got from there gangāpata and nētrapata and thereby made profit.” Another said, “I took men and went to Strirājya and returned with one equal weight of gold”. Another said, “I took the leaves of Nimba tree and went to Ratnadvīpa, got

1. See Naya. 15, 160; Bṛhatkalpa bhāṣya, 1.3073; also Avadāna Śataka II, 13, p. 71.
2. See, Life in Ancient India, p. 117 and Prākṛit Jaina Kathā Sahitya, pp. 30-50.
3. Annena Bhaniyam “Aham Suvannadivam gao palāśakusum aim ghattūna tattha suvannam ghattuna samagao”.

there jewels and returned with them.”¹ Hearing this all of them said, “Oh! What fine business! you get jewels for leaves of Nimba tree (Azadirachta indica), no other business is worthwhile.” He said, “good for him, who has no love for life.” They said, “What business? He said, “You have yourself said what business. Since the sea is difficult to cross, Ratnadvīpa is far, winds are violent, waves are turbulent, watery motions are boisterous, fishes are ruinous, crocodiles are vast, sea-monsters are ferocious, sharks are large, whales are terrible demons are fierce, goblins are calamitous, mountains are not in sight, thieves are skilful, Ocean is awful, way is difficult, in all respects, Ratnadvīpa is hard to reach, that is why I say that to him the business is good who has no love for life.” Then all said, “Oh! really Ratnadvīpa is hard to reach but without suffering there can be no pleasure. So saying the traders dispersed.”²

A detailed study about this reference has been presented by the late Dr. Buddhaprakash in one of his articles.³ From the above description we may infer that the main item of trade between north-western and southern India was horse. It is also clear that in the eighth century the exchange of Indian cloth for Persian gulf pearls and African ivory was an important feature of West Asian trade. The references of Palāśa flowers and Neem leaves in the above description are only to emphasize how very ordinary things costing almost nothing in India could fetch gold in South East Asia and how it was a profitable trade with Ceylon.

4. *Terms used for Trade and Shipping:*

The Kuv. and the Samarāicakahā give us information about terms use for trade and shipping of which some are given in the following:

(i) *Ship and its Various Parts:*

Jāṇa, Jāṇavattam, Jāṇavāhaṇa, Pavahaṇa, Pota, Doni etc. Sē-yavadē (Sails), Ubbhijjāṃti, Kūvakhambhē (Mast), Sayaññē (Furniture), Lambaṇa (Ropes), Āvellaṇa (Oars), Vattaṇi (Floatings), Virikkatēlla-Karūṃṭhi etc.

(ii) *Officials of the Ship:*

Ādiyattiyā (Commission Agent), Kaṇṇahāra (Helmsman), Nijjāmayā (Captain), Mahalla (Sailors) Kaṃmakāra (Labours) and

1. Annena bhaniyam “Aham gao rayanaḍivam nimhapattaim ghattuna, tattha rayanaim ladhaim taim gethuna samagao tti”, —Kuv. pp. 66-67.
2. Kuvalayamalakahā, pp. 66-67.
3. Buddha Prakash—‘An Eighth Century Indian Document on International Trade.’
—Bulletin of the Institution of Traditional Culture, Madras, India, December, 1970.

Pañjar-Puruṣa (an official who made observation from the highest top of the mast). Droṇamukha, Kūla, Naimukhammi etc. for sea-port. And Dūradesāntaram, Partiram, Parapattana, Antaradīva etc. for foreign countries.

(iii) *Commercial Terms:*

Some other commercial terms, found in the Prākṛit texts, are Bhinṇa-Vaḥaṇa-cimdhama (Remains of the wrecked boat were brandished in order to attract the attention of the passing ship), diṇṇā-hatta-saṇṇā (to settle the value of precious stones and gems by exchange of some signes through the fingers of the hand) Dēsiya-vaṇiyamelie (a guild of local merchants). The Sijjhaie-jattā was applied to sea-voyage including the departure and safe return. Bhāmdaim (merchandise taken from the native country), Padibhāmdaim (commodities brought from foreign lands), Sārabhāmdaim (valuable goods), Asāra-bhāmdaim etc.

By this above-mentioned delineation regarding Trade and Shipping, on the one hand we find economic prosperity in ancient India, while on the other we come to know how India was maintaining cultural relations with foreign countries. The evidence for the latter is that from the port of Tāmralipti, Vaijayantī and Sopāraka ships of Indian merchants were sailing to Ceylon (Ratanadvīp), Malaya (Mahākatāh) and China. Consequently their field of commerce was extended from Africa and west Asia to Indonesia and China and from Ceylon to Tibet in the eighth century. In order to establish commercial relation with Iran, Indian merchants played an important role.¹

In fact, merchants mentioned in Prakrit sotries were our ambassadors of those days. They were really helpful in strengthening our commercial and cultural relations with different countries. Many Indian customs and traditions, thoughts, morals and stories reached beyond our boundaries.² Besides, the cultural traditions of other countries permeated our country through merchants returning from foreign countries.

1. Sārthavāha, pp. 165-169.

2. See The Ocean of the Story, Introduction pp. 34-36; History of Indian Literature. Vol. 3, Part I, pp. 302-3.

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